

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
THE PUBLIC LIFE,
AND
A SELECTION
FROM THE UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS,
OF
THE EARL OF MACARTNEY.

THE LATTER CONSISTING OF
EXTRACTS FROM AN ACCOUNT OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE: A SKETCH OF THE
POLITICAL HISTORY OF IRELAND: AND A JOURNAL OF AN EMBASSY FROM
THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA:

WITH AN APPENDIX TO EACH VOLUME.

By JOHN BARROW, F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF "TRAVELS IN CHINA" AND "SOUTHERN AFRICA,"
AND OF "A VOYAGE TO COCHINCHINA."

Erin nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem
Hausimus, Europæque plagas ferè visimus omnes;
Nec latuit regio primum patefacta Columbo;
Sinarum licuit dextram tetigisse tyranni,
Tartaricos montes, magnum et transcendere murum,
Turbidaque impavidi tentavimus alta Pe-che-ks,
Hactenus Europæ nulli sulcata carinis:
Casibus et variis acti, terræque marique,
Sistimus hic tandem, atque Lares veneramur Averni. — MACARTNEY.

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E X T R A C T
FROM
AN ACCOUNT OF RUSSIA,
IN 1767
BY SIR GEORGE MACARTNEY.

P O P U L A T I O N.

Of the various Classes of People, and of the Privileges and Disadvantages annexed to them.

RUSSIA, comparatively with the other nations of Europe, must be considered as a country actually new, or as an old nation lately revived; it cannot of consequence be very populous.

Voltaire justly observes, that no other Christian power has a greater number of subjects under its dominions; but he should have added, that, at least, one-fourth of the subjects of Russia are not Christians.

According to the most exact calculation, founded upon the books of the last revision of the poll-tax, the reports of the provincial governors, and the returns of the clergy, I should imagine the following account of the population of this empire to be much more accurate than any that has yet been given to us.

EXTRACT FROM

State of the Population.

	Males.	Females.
Nobility, including all those who by their rank } in the service are reckoned noble - }	250,000	250,000
Persons employed in the public offices, who, } though not noble, are yet exempted from the } poll-tax, because in the service of the govern- } ment - - - - - }	13,775	14,776
Secular clergy, including their children - .	168,519	163,263
Regular clergy, nuns included - -	2,700	1,300
Burghers - - - - -	189,235	206,163
Persons of different vocations called <i>Rasnochinsei</i> , } that come under no other particular deno- } mination - - - - - }	880,038	886,808
Free peasants, called <i>Odnovortzci</i> - -	467,209	485,000
Peasants of the crown - - - - -	1,000,000	1,000,000
Peasants of the household, or demesne, of the } stables and of the confiscated estates - }	500,000	500,000
Peasants formerly belonging to the church, but } now vested in the crown - - - }	1,000,000	1,000,000
Peasants of the nobility - - - - -	3,400,000	3,400,000
Peasants belonging to manufacturers -	38,000	38,000
Army, regular and irregular - - -	387,054	350,000
Navy - - - - -	31,000	
Inhabitants of the Ukraine - - - -	1,030,000	1,120,000
Inhabitants of Livonia, Esthonia and Finland, } commonly called the conquered Provinces }	300,000	300,000
Foreigners - - - - -	60,000	30,000
Cossacks of different denominations - -	500,000	400,000
Tartars, Calmucks, and other wild nations, ei- } ther really or nominally under the Russian } dominion, including the Laplanders, Sa- } moides, Kamcharakans, &c. - - - }	4,000,000	4,000,000
<hr/>		
14,226,321		14,145,310
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Total Population of Russia - - 28,371,631

AN ACCOUNT OF RUSSIA.

Remarks on the preceding TABLE of Population.

From this view of the population we may observe, that the great strength of the empire lies in its own interior resources, in what may properly be called Russia and the genuine sons of Russia, exclusive of the kindred nations, either conquered or dependent; though these latter have greatly contributed to her present power.

To form an exact idea of the nature of the inhabitants of this country, as distinguished in the preceding state of population, it will be necessary to give a particular description of each class of people, of the privileges and disadvantages annexed to it, and to shew in what manner this diversity of conditions composes the present constitution, and influences its operations.

And to begin with the first division: Nobility, in Russia, is either derived from birth, or acquired by employment.

All persons, whose ancestors were noble, are themselves noble, except those whose blood has been attainted for crimes.

All nobles are equal and have precedence only according to the rank of their employment in the state: thus a common writer or common soldier, though of the basest extraction, if

he rises either in the civil or military, takes place of every person whatsoever of an inferior character, though sprung from the first families of the empire: Mr. T——, who is said to be a foundling, being now *actual counsellor of state*, goes before prince *Dolgoroukoy*, who is as yet only *counsellor of state*, though lineally descended from the Great Duke of Russia Volodimer himself.

The nobility, though equal in point of privileges, as mentioned above, may be classed under the four following denominations:

1. Knczes.
2. Counts.
3. Barons.
4. Gentlemen without titles.

A Knez, or Prince, as the Russians affect to translate it, is supposed to be descended either—1st, From * the ancient Great Dukes of Muscovy, or from ancestors who were formerly real † sovereigns of certain provinces, then independent, but now united to Russia.—2dly, From Polish ‡ or foreign § princes settled in the empire.—3dly, From || Tartar chiefs, or such Tartars of note, who, in the reign of Alexis Michaelowich, renounced the Mahometan faith, and submitted to be baptized in the Greek religion, on condition of

* Such as Dolgoroukoy, Repnin,

† Such as Galitzin, Trubetskoi.

‡ Such as Jusupoff, Mecheraki.

§ Such as Vesemskoy, Shakofskoi.

|| Such as Cantemir, Cantacusene.

being allowed to bear the title of Knez.—4thly, From * Russian subjects, born without titles, but created Knezes by the sovereign.

Count † and Baron ‡ were terms absolutely unknown here, till the days of Peter the First, who, by an injudicious and almost indiscriminate affectation of every foreign custom, created several nobles with these titles; but he did not annex any particular privileges to them, a Count or Baron enjoying no precedence but from his rank in the service.

These honors, unlike the dignities of certain countries, were rather rewards of uncommon merit, than marks of particular favor; they still continue so and therefore are very rare.

Some of the old nobility, who are without titles, seeing that *these* confer no real dignity or advantage, exclusive of service, affect to despise and to be above accepting them; and, indeed, except the counts Cheremetoff, Buterlin, and a few others, the rest of those who enjoy such titles, are mostly of new and obscure families; as Rosamouski, Skavronski, Jagusinski, Stroganoff, Bruce, &c.

Gentlemen, without titles, though last mentioned, are many of them nothing inferior to the Knezes and Counts, either for antiquity of descent, or nobleness of blood.

* Volkonskoy, Menchikoff.

† Such as Cheremetoff, Buterlin.

‡ Stroganoff, Czerkasoff.

These are descended,—1st, From the ancient * Boiars or gentlemen, who held their lands under the crown by a kind of feudal tenure; and were obliged to serve the Czar in his wars at the head of their peasants.—2dly, † From foreigners settled in the empire.—Or, 3dly, ‡ From those who, though not born gentlemen, have raised themselves to that degree, by obtaining a rank in the service which confers it.

When a man has once obtained that rank, all his children born afterwards are noble; but his children born before are not noble, unless the crown formally consents, which it seldom refuses on petition and proper application.

The filling an office in any, even the lowest, department under the crown does not in the least derogate from the nobility of the person who holds it; and every person retains for life the same rank which he enjoyed when in actual service; he sometimes even retires with a higher one.

The following Table will give an idea of military and civil ranks here, as they stand contrasted to each other.

Every person who, by service, has acquired any rank as marked in these classes, though it be in the fourteenth,

* Such as Muskin-Puskin, Nariekin, Kitroff, Meloslafski. The family of Romanoff, which was raised to the throne in 1613, was of this kind of nobility, having no title.

† Such as Passeck, Wedel.

‡ Such as Teploff, Daragan.

which is the lowest, becomes noble himself and entails his nobility upon his descendants.

It is necessary to remark here, that in order to preserve a sort of superiority to the military, the youngest military officer has precedence of the oldest civil officer of the same class; except in the two first classes, where the rank depends upon the date of the commission.

TABLE OF RANK.

FIRST CLASS.	
Military.	Civil.
Field Marshal	} Great Chancellor.
General Admiral	
SECOND CLASS.	
Generals in Chief	} Actual Privy Counsellors.
Admirals.	
THIRD CLASS.	
Lieutenant Generals	} Privy Counsellors.
Vice Admirals	
FOURTH CLASS.	
Major Generals	} Actual Counsellors of State.
Rear Admirals	

EXTRACT FROM

FIFTH CLASS.

Military.		Civil.
Brigadiers	}	Counsellors of State.
Commodores		

SIXTH CLASS.

Colonels	}	Counsellors.
Captains of the first Rate		
in the Navy.		

And so on to the rank of an Ensign and Register, which is in the 14th, or lowest class.

There are particular employments which have a rank annexed to them: thus all the great officers of state are Generals in Chief, the Chamberlains are Major Generals, and the Gentlemen of the Chamber are Brigadiers.

The Russian nobility, though now equal as nobles, were not always so or, at least, were not such in their own estimation; which occasioned many inconveniencies, especially in time of war; as it often happened that a gentleman of a very ancient family scrupled to obey another of a less ancient one, though appointed to a superior command by the Czar himself.

To put an end to these disputes, Alexis Michaelowich commanded the nobility to deliver up to him all their patents,

family papers, and pedigrees ; and as soon as this requisition was complied with, he ordered them to be publicly burnt before the gates of his palace : so that whatever antiquity some Russian houses may pretend to, it is merely traditional, as not one of them has a single writing to prove it from, higher than the reign of that prince.

The title of Boiar, which we find attributed, in the old accounts of Russia, to the principal officers and counsellors of the Czar's court, is now entirely disused.

By an edict of Peter the First, the Russian nobility were obliged, not only to enter into the service themselves, but to register all their male children at seven years old, and to send them, when arrived at the age of fourteen, to the proper office to be reviewed and enrolled either in the civil or military : and those parents who neglected this duty were liable to very severe penalties.

It was not easy to obtain a discharge till after five and twenty years service, unless on account of sickness, incapacity, or other good cause ; and even then, the liberty of retiring depended solely on the pleasure of the sovereign.

At present, it would seem as if the nobility and their children were no longer bound by these rigorous ordinances, and that to enter into the service, or to decline it, rested on their own inclination alone.

They now have the liberty whenever they think proper of travelling into foreign countries, upon taking out a passport in the common form; a regulation to which every body is obliged to submit, as no person whatsoever can leave the empire without one.

The sovereign, however, sometimes refuses this permission: as in the case of the princess Dashkoff, in March 1765; but there were very good reasons for that refusal. It is indeed the only example I recollect during my residence.

Russian merchants or burghers have, of late years, not only travelled abroad themselves, but have sent their children into foreign countries; this liberty they seem rather to enjoy by tacit permission. than positive right: for the merchants have never been emancipated, as the nobility were by the edict of Peter the Third in 1762.

Those who are to serve in the military here, be they of what condition, quality, or fortune they may, must commence as private soldiers; they do not, however, remain long in that station, but are usually soon advanced to a higher rank, especially if they be of distinguished families.

The nobility and those persons who are in the service of the government, pay no taxes whatsoever.

The privilege of purchasing lands and peasants is now allowed to the nobility alone; formerly a manufacturer was

permitted to buy slaves, but that right is now either taken away or suspended.

The clergy both secular and regular are, in general, either the sons of priests, or born of the meanest of the people. They are by no means so numerous as might be expected from the ignorance and prevailing superstition of this country; and though they pay no taxes to government are very little burthensome to it; indeed, much less so than the same order of men, in any other state, where hierarchy is established in the smallest degree.

A burgher is either descended from a burgher, or is a peasant made free, who enters himself on the roll of traders in some corporate town. All burghers are at liberty to buy and sell by wholesale in all parts of the empire: but (except at public fairs) they are not permitted to trade by retail, in any other town but that of which they are free.

Every burgher pays a certain annual sum to the guild of the town where he resides, towards defraying the charges and expences to which it is subject: such as the paving, cleaning, and lighting the streets, furnishing commissaries and attendants to a variety of public services, &c. &c.: this sum is not fixed, but depends upon accidents and occurrences: thus, for example, the charges for the year 1767 were to be very heavy upon the burghers of St. Petersbourg; because, whenever the sovereign removes to Mosco, they are obliged to furnish the whole court with horses at a low rate for 130 English miles of the way.

A burgher may become a gentleman, that is to say the crown may give him 'a brevet of rank, and yet continue a merchant. There are some examples in the present reign of burghers having the rank of field officers, and yet not retiring from trade ; but to them this rank is only personal, and does not make their children noble ; nay, it does not empower the person himself, to whom it is granted, to purchase lands or peasants.

It would seem, however, as if the Empress was desirous of rendering the profession of a merchant more respectable in Russia, and it is probable it will soon be put upon a new footing ; that particular privileges will be granted to burghers, and that the taxes, which they now pay, will be levied in another manner, and under another name. At present they are, in many respects, upon the same level with the peasants, being subject to the poll-tax, and obliged to furnish recruits to the military service.

A foreigner may become a burgher, but, if he dies, or chuses to leave the country, one-tenth of his fortune acquired, during his burghership, is forfeited to the town of which he was free.

The poll-tax of a burgher is 120 copecks *per annum*, being about five shillings English.

Persons of different vocations, called *Kontshins*, who come under no other particular denomination, are neither burghers nor peasants ; and though they have no

masters, are not exempted from paying taxes, and are principally composed of the sons of soldiers and priests (themselves not being soldiers or belonging to the church) of enfranchised slaves, converted Tartars, &c. They all pay a certain capitation, which, at the general revision, is settled according to their apparent ability.

The free peasants, called *Odnótvortzei*, inhabit chiefly the provinces of Voronitz and Belgorod; and principally consist of the descendants of Emigrants from Poland and the Ukraine in ancient times: there are among them, however, several of the Russian nobility who, averse to the military service, as established by Peter the First, chose rather to enroll themselves in the class of *Odnótvortziei*, than to present themselves and their children to be registered at the herald's office according to the edict: they, therefore, retired into the above-mentioned provinces of Voronitz and Belgorod, and carried with them as many of their peasants as they could possibly transplant thither under such circumstances.

The term *Odnótvortzei* literally signifies possessors of one house, but there are several of them who have considerable estates; and it appeared at the last revision, that there were 13,000 peasants belonging to them who paid the poll-tax to the crown. They are permitted to possess in fee what lands and peasants they are now seized of, but are incapable of acquiring more, either by purchase or otherwise. They pay 170 copecks or 7s. 1d. poll-tax, and since the new regulations of the war-office, furnish recruits in the same manner as the other peasants.

Peasants of the crown enjoy a larger portion of freedom, or rather a lesser share of slavery than any other peasants; for if they pay their taxes, and furnish their proper quota of recruits to the military, and of labour to the mines, they are bound to no further acts of vassalage, and are only cognizable by the chancery of their province.

The whole government of Archangel, and a great part of the kingdoms of Casan and Siberia, consist of this kind of peasants only, who are looked upon as unalienably annexed to the crown. They pay 170 copecks, or 7s. 1d. poll-tax.

Peasants of the household or demesne, of the stables and confiscated estates, besides the poll-tax of 70 copecks, or 2s. 11d. pay a rent to the crown of 100 copecks, or 4s. 2d. or may be obliged to work or furnish provisions in lieu of their rent.

These are cognizable by their proper chanceries, and are alienable; being frequently granted away by the sovereign to those subjects whom she chuses to reward. The present Empress, indeed, has been much more sparing in this respect than her predecessors.

Peasants of the church, now transferred to the crown, formerly belonged to the monasteries and dignified clergy, but, by the late regulation, are vested in the crown, for the maintenance of the church and other pious uses: they are much on the same footing as the crown peasants, and are cognizable by the college of œconomy, into whose treasury they pay 150

copecks, or 6s. 3d. besides their poll-tax of 70 copecks, or 2s. 11d.

Peasants belonging to the nobility, besides their poll-tax to the crown of 70 copecks, or 2s. 11d. are obliged to pay a certain rent to their lord, according to their circumstances and ability: this they do either in money, provisions, or labor, and sometimes in all three, being absolute slaves to the will of their master, who has entire power over their persons in every respect, short of life: he can imprison, beat, or plunder them, at his discretion: for, according to the general acceptance, a peasant has nothing of his own.

Indeed, at St. Petersburg, the more civilized nobility content themselves with a stipulated rent from their tenants, and leave them to enjoy, in quiet, the fruits of their industry: however it sometimes happens that an indigent or rapacious gentleman will summon before him those of his peasants, whom he suspects to be rich, demand their little wealth, and if not immediately granted, order the poor wretches to be whipt without mercy, till they are compelled to surrender all they possess in the world to their merciless master. — The terror of being thus plundered frequently induces the peasant to bury his money in the earth, by which means large sums are daily withdrawn from circulation. This circumstance seems, in some measure, to account for the visible scarcity of specie in this country, for though the general balance of trade is in favour of Russia, yet there appears to be much less gold and silver in circulation, than one would be led to imagine from such an advantage.

Peasants belonging to the manufacturers are employed in different arts or trades, established in the empire: many of them become so ingenious and so useful to their principals, as to receive wages like free workmen, which, notwithstanding, are rather given from motives of generosity and encouragement, than of obligation or necessity. These peasants are entirely slaves to their master, and are obliged to work gratis if insisted on, having no claim upon him but for bare subsistence.

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to They were either assigned by the crown to the manufactories on their first establishment, or afterwards purchased by the proprietor, who cannot now resell them unless, at the same time, he disposes of the manufactory, from which they are unalienable after having once belonged to it.

Their poll-tax is 70 copecks, or 2s. 11d.

A peasant cannot trade as a burgher, but he may sell the produce of his own or of his family's labor. He is not allowed by law to pass a bill of exchange, as he cannot be sued for payment. It is notwithstanding frequently practised, and being found in some degree necessary for carrying on trade is connived at by the magistrate.

A peasant, with the consent of his lord, may purchase his freedom and become a burgher. By an edict of Peter the First, he had a right to his freedom on payment of 500 roubles, or 100l. but that law is now either repealed or become obsolete; few lords, however, would refuse a peasant his liberty who could give him so high a price for it.

The common value of a peasant, in the sale of an estate, was seldom rated higher than 40 or 50 roubles but, of late, the price is considerably risen: for by the increase of commerce, and the prodigious demands from abroad for the commodities of this country, the peasant grows every day more wealthy, and consequently more able to pay a considerable rent to his master. Formerly, the crown never refused to give a peasant his freedom upon the abovementioned terms of paying 500 roubles but, latterly, has been much more reserved in that respect, as it is supposed that the tillage of the country would suffer considerably by a great number of husbandmen becoming burghers.

The present Empress, who has the happiness of her subjects, of all ranks and denominations, very much at heart, seems extremely desirous of improving the condition of the peasants, as well as of the burghers.

She wishes to invest a real and indisputable property of some kind, either of lands or moveables or both, in all sorts of persons whatsoever: and certainly nothing could more effectually contribute to the improvement of agriculture, or the advancement of commerce in this empire.

With this intention she has offered great encouragement to all foreigners, who are willing to settle as colonists in her dominions; and a very considerable number are already arrived there, not less, I am assured, than 35,000 souls; to whom lands are to be assigned in some of the best provinces of the empire, and free possession allowed them for twenty

years, subject to no rent or tax whatsoever, till the expiration of that term.

The following question, which has been proposed to the society of Free Enquiry here, is said to have been started by the Empress herself, who, by their channel, has offered a considerable prize for the best dissertation written upon this subject.

“ Whether it is most advantageous and useful to the common-wealth that peasants should have a real property in lands, or only in moveable effects ; and how far ought the right of the peasant to extend over such property, so that the greatest benefit may arise to the public ? ”

The army and navy consist, (officers excepted) of Russians only, who, when once they are well disciplined, make incomparable soldiers and sailors. For patience, perseverance, and obedience, they have no superiors in the world ; and yet, in general, the common Russians are by no means of a military cast ; on the contrary, they have the strongest aversion to the land and sea service, but especially to the latter ; both of which are entirely supplied with pressed men.—A volunteer would be a prodigy.

Different from the practice of most other nations, which, in order to spare their own subjects, chuse to enlist as many foreigners as possible in their armies, the Russians never admit any other than natives into their regular troops ; even the provinces of Livonia and Esthonia do not furnish a single

recruit to the service; so that if an idle fellow, in either of these countries, finds in himself the strongest vocation to be a soldier, he cannot serve his sovereign in that capacity, but must offer himself to some neighbouring power *

The most accomplished officers in the service are foreigners, that is to say, not Russians; for the conquered provinces have often furnished very able generals. In the fleet they have a few English officers, who are almost the only persons, in the whole naval department, who are capable of service, or have ever seen any.

The Ukraine, or Little Russia, is a province of the utmost importance to Russia, not only on account of the astonishing fertility of its soil, which is equally proper for tillage and pasture, but because it is the frontier and bulwark against the Turks.

The people are absolutely free, but many Russian nobles, who have lands in the Ukraine, have brought numbers of their peasants and settled them upon their estates there: these, however, do not acquire their freedom by residing in a free province.

Many Ukrainers become tenants to the gentlemen, but, if ill used, they have a right to abandon their farms and

* Indeed he has not very far to go, as he may be sure of entering on immediate duty at Memel, where his Prussian Majesty is said to have some of the ablest and most successful recruiting officers in Europe.

dwelling, and settle elsewhere ; a case which frequently happens, and occasions a prodigious loss to their landlords.

The children of an Ukrainer, by a Russ woman, follow the condition of their mother, so that if she be a slave, they are born slaves though the father was free.

The Ukraine, which was formerly considered in itself as a sort of military republic, dependent on Russia, was under the command of an officer called a Hetman ; he was always a native of it, and, though appointed by the court, was yet supposed to be elected by the free choice of his countrymen. Count Rosamowski (brother of the person who was so long a favorite of the Empress Elizabeth) was chosen hetman in 1750 ; but the present Czarina has thought proper to abolish the office, and convert the Ukraine into a regular government, similar to that of the other provinces.

The Ukraine furnishes and maintains a considerable body of troops, but pays no capitation nor, indeed, any other taxes, except custom-house duties on the frontier ; so that it is upon a much better and more honorable footing than any other province, for, of all nations under the Russian dominion, Russia herself is the least happy and the least free.

It may not be improper here to mention the Cossacks, who, though divided into several denominations, yet enjoy the same privileges as the Ukrainers. They are separated into different nations or tribes, which derive their names from the places of their residence ; some are called the Don Cos-

sacks, others the Volga Cossacks, Choperski Cossacks, Yaik Cossacks, &c. There is also one horde of them, consisting of about 30,000 fighting men, called the Cossacks of Zaporavia, who are so singular in their manners and legislation, that they claim a more particular description than the others.

They consist of persons of all nations, and live in a singular sort of society, to which no women are admitted; they are a sort of male Amazons, who, at a particular season of the year, resort to certain islands of the Nieper, in their neighbourhood, where they rendezvous with the women dependent upon them: on these occasions the union of the sexes is by no means regulated by those laws which prevail in other societies; for the nearest relations, such as a father and his daughter, a son and his mother, mutually mingle, without scruple, their incestuous caresses and endearments. The children, born from these indiscriminate embraces, are left with their mothers till a certain age, at which the males are delivered to the fathers and, like their fathers, become hunters and warriors, whilst the females remain with those of their own sex and, like them, are reserved for the purposes of propagation.

All the Cossacks profess the Greek religion, and serve as irregulars in the Russian army.

Among the conquered provinces, Livonia and Esthonia still enjoy very considerable privileges; their nobility derive even greater and more essential advantages under the present

government, than what they were possessed of whilst subject to Sweden.

The peasants are annexed to the land, and sold and transferred with it. Several Russian gentlemen have acquired estates in Livonia and Esthonia, and are entered on the matricula; in consequence of which, they have a right to a seat in the Diet, or assembly of the states of those provinces.

Russian Finland is a poor depopulated country and, at present, very little resembles the Swedish Finland, of which it was formerly a part. The avarice, ill-policy, and tyranny of some Russian noblemen who have estates there, have brought it to this wretched state.

According to the treaty of Newstadt, certain privileges were supposed to be secured to the Finland peasants, which distinguished them from the Russians; none of these privileges, however, are essential enough to be particularly taken notice of, as they only mitigate slavery, but do not confer freedom.

The inhabitants of the conquered provinces pay no poll-tax.

Foreigners of almost every nation, which we are acquainted with, are to be found in Russia, either as established or temporary residents. In the custom-house books of Petersbourg alone, we observe the names of merchants from every country in Europe; English, French, Hollanders, Austrians, Prussians, Saxons, Hamburgers,

Lubeckers, Danes, Swedes, Spaniards, Italians, Greeks, &c. &c. And, in the southern and south-eastern parts of the empire, we meet with all the varieties of the Asiatic nations; whether Turks, Persians, Indians, or Chinese; together with every shade and tincture of complexion and feature which so singularly mark the different races of Calmucks and Tartars.

All these enjoy ample security for their persons and property. While resident in this empire, they are permitted the free exercise of their religion, whether Christian, Pagan, or Mahometan, every sect of which is now tolerated. They are all capable of employment in the service, may be naturalized and, if ennobled by rank or patent, may purchase lands or peasants, and enjoy the same privileges as a natural born Russian.

All foreigners, except Jews and Jesuits, are at liberty to settle in this country, and may trade by wholesale: but, unless naturalized, they are prohibited by the laws from selling in Russia what they purchase in Russia, and are therefore obliged to consume or export it.

The English are by much the most respectable for their opulence, their integrity, and their understanding; but of all foreigners the French are the most beloved, caressed, and imitated by the Russians.

The English enjoy particular commercial privileges and, in point of honour and justice, are entitled to still greater.

For to the early and continued support of England, Russia principally owes its present existence as a maritime or commercial nation.

By an ancient law, Jews were not allowed to reside in Russia; but, I believe, they might at present establish themselves here without much difficulty.

Foreigners pay no taxes to the government.

All the inhabitants of Siberia, Casan, and the eastern provinces of Russia to the sea of Kamchatka, who are not Christians, are confounded under the general name of Tartars.

Many of these come to the capital in order to procure employment, either as workmen or domesticks, and are exceedingly sober, acute, dextrous, and faithful. It is, however, remarkable that those who turn Christians usually adopt all the vices, as well as the religion, of their new brethren; and become more drunken, idle, and knavish, than even the Russians themselves.

The Calmucks consist of several hordes or nations, which extend from the province of Astracan to the lake of Bajkal. They are said to be subjects of Russia, their different Khans acknowledging a sort of nominal vassalage to the Empress; but as they are entirely free, pay no taxes, and are governed by their own laws, I should rather call them her allies, and perhaps they are not less useful than any she has; for they

cover and defend her frontier, upwards of 1500 English miles, from the incursions and insults of the Kubans, Karakalpaks, Usbegs, and other bordering nations, still more wild and barbarous than themselves.

Of all these different Asiatic people the Calmucks of the Volga seem to be the least disaffected to Russia; but the Tartars, and many tribes of the Cossacks, pay a very unwilling submission to the government; which is obliged to manage them with great art and address, sometimes using them with rigor, and sometimes with gentleness, when the one may be excused by danger, or the other authorized by security.

The Laplanders, Samojedes, and Kamchatkans, are in too rude and savage a state to merit a particular description, and only find a place here, because they are marked in the Table of Population. The crown, however, receives from them a considerable tribute in furs.

Of the Genius and Character of the Russians.

Thus far I have given a short description of all the different conditions of men, together with the incorporated or dependent nations, which compose the population of this vast empire. But, as I before observed, that the strength of Russia lies in Russia itself, that on itself it must depend for support in the day of trial, and that it must stand or fall by its own virtue, it may neither appear incurious nor unnecessary to exhibit here the national character at full length.

I know how little attention is paid to such general portraits, and that we oftener see them overcharged with the drapery of a rhetorician, than marked by the free and natural outline of the historian and philosopher; yet I am conscious the following picture is not liable to such an imputation. It must be allowed, indeed, that in all countries we meet with extraordinary characters, which, by their virtues or depravity, by their talents or incapacity, make exceptions to every general rule: there are, notwithstanding, in most nations, as in most human faces, some particular marks, certain striking features, which make deep and lasting impressions on our imagination, and strongly influence our judgment and opinion: and such particular marks and striking features there are surely to be found in this nation, notwithstanding all the pains that have been taken to bend or distort them to the likeness of others.

There is, however, so great a variety in the shades of character which mark the different ranks of people here, though the ground be nearly the same, that it will be proper to distinguish the classes, and take a separate view of each.

The common people, though not laboring, are strong and hardy, patiently bearing the extremities of heat, cold, and hunger to an extraordinary degree; in general, they are lazy in body, indolent in mind, and sensual to excess, knowing no happiness beyond the gratifications of drunkenness and gluttony; they are hospitable, charitable, and good-natured; nay, what may seem incredible to a foreigner, they are humane, and can by no means be justly accused of

cruelty: the several late revolutions of government in this country are sufficient to plead against such a charge, where so little blood was shed, though the soldiery was let loose, while furious from provocation and thirsty for revenge.

They possess a great deal of natural shrewdness and sagacity, have a strong turn for ridicule, and in their general transactions of business acquit themselves with uncommon cunning and address. The advantages, however, which might arise to the public from their understanding and penetration, are considerably lessened by their superstitious and obstinate attachment to ancient customs, which strangles in its cradle almost every child of improvement or discovery: those few which have arrived to any degree of maturity in this country owe their birth, or at least their education, to foreigners.

The Russians, however, when properly managed, when soothed by persuasion, allured by profit, or animated by example, become extremely docile, and learn all mechanic arts with surprising facility. They generally pass for being knavish, yet surely they possess a greater share of honesty than we have any right to expect; for, considering the temptations they are exposed to, the abolition of capital punishment, and the little disgrace of successful villany and corruption in the highest ranks of people, it is astonishing that any integrity at all should be found among the commonalty.

They are handsome, well-dressed, easy and unaffected in their behaviour; and, though less so in their car-

riage, are obedient and submissive to their superiors, and of a civility and politeness to their equals which is scarcely to be paralleled. In their houses though they live with little order or cleanliness, yet they are rather epicures in their table, neat in their persons, and decent in their dress.

Their habit is equally adapted to health and convenience, and extremely well suited to their usual occupations; the upper garment is a short wide coat without plaits, which wraps over, and is fastened round the waist with a sash; in winter they wear underneath it a sort of waistcoat lined with sheepskin, which defends them from the rigor of the cold; their necks and upper part of the breast are usually bare, but their feet and legs are constantly well covered with warm boots: on their heads they wear a cap either of cloth or fur, according to the season. All the lower sort, except livery servants, and those who belong to the military, wear their beards, and cherish them with religious attachment.

The common Russian, though not actively brave, is unaccountably indifferent to the love of life, or the terrors of death, and bears punishment and tortures with incredible fortitude: thus ignorance and insensibility often produce among them such examples of resignation and contempt of pain, as shame the legends of martyrs and the boast of heroes. They are not malicious or vindictive, their active passions being neither violent nor dangerous, as their sentiments are not gloomy nor lasting, so their grief is not permanent or warm. Indeed all the affections of the soul seem weaker in them than in most other nations; they are, therefore,

formed to be commanded, and perhaps the sovereign despotism which reigns here owed its rise, in the beginning, to an attentive observation of this part of their character. They possess most of the military qualities, enterprise excepted; and in point of obedience, discipline, and passive valor, make incomparable soldiers.

From this view of the common people, we may fairly conclude that the soil is naturally good, and capable of being turned to prodigious advantage; that if judiciously managed, it would well reward the care of the owner; and that if we find many good qualities misapplied or neglected, it is less owing to the perverseness of the people than to the indolence, mistakes, or unskilfulness of their rulers.

Having said thus much of the common people or peasants, I come now to speak of the second class, the burghers and traders, commonly called merchants; though, according to our acceptation of the word, there are very few, if any, who deserve the appellation. The eminent manufacturers, the rich wholesale dealers, neither of which are very numerous, the country chapmen, shopkeepers, and pedlars, compose this class. They are, in general, a very orderly sort of people, equally decent in their houses, and in their appearance; but comparatively much more awkward and embarrassed in their carriage than the peasants; whether that, by oftener conversing with the great, they grow affected from imitation, or, by dealing with foreigners, they grow modest from conscious inferiority, I will not pretend to determine. It is said that, anciently as they were more simple in their

manners, they were also more just in their dealings ; but now, though they avoid every open and flagrant act of knavery, yet they are by no means averse to the more secret and secure arts of dishonesty.

In the inner parts of the country, they are supposed to be more virtuous ; indeed, it is but fair to observe, that the most knavish, among the merchants, are those who have the most frequent transactions with foreigners : whether they are corrupted by ill example, excited by a spirit of rivalry and vanity which induces them to prove their talents at the expence of their integrity, or that a lust of lucre prevails over every other consideration. They are, notwithstanding, supposed to be the most devout and religious class of people in the empire.

Their piety, however, as well as that of the peasants, is reducible to a very few rules of duty ; the principal of which are, abstinence in Lent, intoxication on holidays, and confession and sacrament at Easter. But there are two points of natural religion to which they adhere, and which seem very extraordinary in a people who appear so negligent of most others : the one is an extreme veneration, obedience and respect for their parents ; few instances of undutifulness or ingratitude to them being to be found here ; the other regards their scrupulosity in taking an oath ; in general, they have a great aversion to submit to such an obligation, and, in civil causes, it is common to see a man swear to his adversary to be sworn rather than to be sworn himself. I must observe, however, that this sort of piety extends only to those

cases, where a man swears against his better knowledge, and not at all to oaths of office, which are hourly taken and violated without fear or hesitation.

Some few of the merchants affect to dress and live like their superiors; but far the greater part follow the rude and humble simplicity of their ancestors.

Before I conclude this article I must remark one thing which is equally true and extraordinary; though the Russians are in general extremely eager in pursuit of gain, and uncommonly sharp in their dealings, yet they are either entirely inattentive to the true principles of commerce, or incapable of attaining them: for notwithstanding their constant intercourse with the chief trading nations of Europe during two hundred years past; notwithstanding they must see the able manner in which other merchants carry on their business, and the advantages resulting from it; yet among the Russian burghers few of them can write, and not one in a thousand has learned our common arithmetic. To this day there is not a Russian counting-house established in any foreign country: they continue to sell their commodities to the factor, and not to the principal, few of them choosing to freight a ship upon their own account, having no idea of that extensive credit which is the soul of commerce; being impatient of returns, and unwilling to trust to the faith of distant correspondents, whom they cannot believe more honest or more punctual than themselves.

Thus they leave the great advantages of their trade to the stranger; and whilst the products of Russia are transmitted to the most distant parts of the globe, the name of a Russian merchant is utterly unknown.

As to the clergy, their order has been brought very low, and their authority entirely annihilated. The common priests are usually of the meanest extraction and lowest education, and are treated accordingly: the monks alone and the dignified clergy, who are usually monks, possess the little theological literature that remains here; this extends only to a slight notion of ecclesiastical history, of ancient controversy, and of the lives and writings of the Greek fathers.

Though it is no uncommon thing to see persons, even ladies, of the first rank kiss the hand of a priest, it merely proceeds from superstitious custom, and not from any real deference or devotion; for of all clergy in the world, the clergy of Russia is the least feared, respected, esteemed, or beloved.

The common people, the merchants, and the clergy, having now passed in review, the nobility demand our next attention: we should naturally suppose this order to be superior to the others in sentiment, in knowledge, and in behaviour; and yet, either so depraved are their dispositions, or so perverted their judgments, that, we may safely say, the nobility derive few advantages from birth or education, which claim the respect of others, or are of use to themselves in their hearts,

mean profligacy and vulgar weakness too often triumph over genius and honor, without which birth loses its dignity, and fortune has no value.

Conscious and jealous of the superior civilization of foreign nations, sensible of, yet unwilling or unable to correct, the errors of their own, they endeavour to conceal their disadvantages under the affectation of despising the stranger, and under the practice of mortifying him. But these are principally exerted against those whom they are jealous of, or those whom they envy for their eminence of talents and superiority of genius: for the humbler foreigner, who has pliancy or baseness enough to submit to their pride, to flatter their vanity, or minister to their pleasures, is certain of securing their favour, of acquiring a confidence, and enjoying an influence, which wisdom or virtue could never have obtained. Of this we see innumerable instances in those crowds of French adventurers, who daily resort here, and are received into most families with open arms, as secretaries, librarians, readers, preceptors, and parasites; though the greatest part of these gentry are equally impudent and illiterate, vagabonds from indigence, or fugitives for crimes.

The Russian gentlemen are certainly the least informed of all others in Europe; the chief point of their instruction is a knowledge of modern languages, particularly the French and German; both which they usually speak with very great facility, though incapable of writing either with precision or propriety. Those who can afford the expence, and indeed many who cannot afford it, complete their education by a

tour to France ; where, ignorant and unprincipled as they are, they catch at every thing that feeds the fancy or inflames the passions ; there they find ample fuel for both ; they greedily devour all that is set before them without selection, and lose their delicacy of taste in enormity of appetite : to Frenchmen they become despicable Russians, to Russians despicable Frenchmen, to others equal objects of pity and contempt. So seldom do they derive advantage from those circumstances which form and accomplish the gentleman of other countries, that, instead of instruction or real improvement, they rarely acquire more than personal affectation and mental distortion, and, after all their travels, return home far inferior, in the virtues of a good citizen, to those who have never travelled at all.

Their natural parts are tolerably good, but they universally want the discriminating faculty ; whence they fall into the most absurd imitations of foreign life and manners and, abandoning the common sense of nature, adopt fashions and customs totally contrary to their climate and troublesome to themselves. Though freezing under the 60th degree of northern latitude, they build their houses like the airy palaces of Florence and Sienna : in France it is the etiquette of fashion to begin the spring season at Easter, and to mark it by dress ; the imitative Russian does the same, and flings off his winter garments whilst the earth is covered with snow, and himself shivering with cold. It is the peculiar privilege of the noblesse at Paris to have Swiss porters at the gates of their hotels ; at Petersburg a Russ gentleman of any fashion must have a Swiss also, or some tall fellow with a laced belt and hanger,

which it seems are the indispensable accoutrements of a Parisian janitor. It would be an endless task to recite the follies and absurdities of this kind, which they every day fall into, but these few examples will, I presume, appear sufficient.

This ridiculous imitation of foreign and particularly of French manners, is attended with the most serious consequences and with innumerable ill effects: it not only divests them of national character, but prevents them from aspiring to the praise of all national virtue; it represses their native energy of mind, and extinguishes every spark of original genius. Nothing was ever more just than Rousseau's censure of Peter the First's conduct: that monarch, instead of improving his subjects as Russians, endeavoured totally to change and convert them into Germans and Frenchmen; but his attempts were unsuccessful; he could not make them what he wished to make them, he spoiled them in the experiment, and left them worse than they were before. His successors have continued the same process, but their projects have been equally ineffectual to the people, and unprofitable to the state.

The Russian nobility, from this error of their late princes, have contracted that unfortunate bias which will not suffer their nature to shoot upright; warped by imitation of alien manners without selection, they too often appear vain, petulant, light, inconsequent, indiscreet, envious, and suspicious, faithless in their engagements, traitors to one another, incapable of true friendship, and insensible to all the nobler

movements of the soul ; luxurious and effeminate, listless and indisposed. Though in a northern climate they have an Asiatic aversion to all corporal activity and manly exercise, and scarce form an idea of either, beyond the smooth velocity of a sledge, or the measured paces of a managed horse : they have no passion for the sports of the field ; hunting, shooting, and fishing, as practised with us, they are utterly strangers to. Avoiding every recreation attended with exertion and fatigue, they prefer the more indolent amusements of chess, cards, or billiards, in all which they are usually extraordinary proficient : few of them employ their leisure in polishing their minds : insensible to the charms of conversation and the refinements of literature, they loiter and sleep away life, and wake but to the calls of sensuality and the grosser pleasures.

Those who serve in the army or in the navy seldom arrive at any extraordinary excellence in either profession, and seem in general as unambitious as undeserving of military fame. They are looked upon as very moderate proficient by all foreign officers ; and if sometimes they seem to perform their duty with the spirit of a soldier, they are rather actuated by the principle of mere obedience, and the dread of punishment, than inspired by the nobler motives and generous impulse of magnanimity and true valour.

The nobility, in common with the inferior classes, are remarkable for filial piety ; but this their so much boasted duty to parents seems to proceed more from principles of dependance and slavery, than from unmixed affection or well-

founded gratitude ; for every father, in the little sphere of his family, is as despotic as the sovereign, in his larger dominion. But this virtue, whether real or pretended, is the principal one which they practise ; they have not, nor do they affect to have, that abhorrence of vice and dishonesty, which prevails among other nations : in so much, that many persons retain their employments, nay judicial employments, though notorious for the most infamous frauds and cruel extortions ; for, excepting a few and those in the highest offices, the rest of the nation, though in the morrow of greatness, have all the corruptions incident to a declining state, instead of the sterner virtues which raise an empire to meridian glory.

The abject court and adulation, which they pay to minions, ministers, and men in power, are intolerably offensive to every mind that feels for freedom and independence : to an Englishman they are particularly disgusting : chiefly attentive to their own fortunes, and in the immediate gratification of personal vanity, the Russian nobility are regardless of public virtue, and improvident of posterity ; preferring the smile of a courtier, or the hollow patronage of a favourite, to the rational pleasures of equal society, and to the happiness of conscious virtue. Their fondness for external honors makes a striking part of their character ; there are few of them who would not sacrifice the most solid advantage to the superficial decorations of a ribbon or a title ; so much attached and accustomed are they to these ornaments, that a foreigner, how-

ever great his merit, is but little respected who does not wear such marks of distinction.

From hence a rigid observer might be led to pronounce them a nation of inconsistency, contradiction, and paradox, uniting in themselves the most opposite extremes : hating the stranger, they copy him ; affecting originality, they are the slaves of imitation ; magnificent, and slovenly ; irreligious, yet superstitious ; at once proud and abject, rapacious and prodigal, equally incapable of being reformed by lenity, or corrected by punishment. The severity of the Empress Anne's reign wrought but little change in their character ; nor has the gentleness of subsequent administrations produced any considerable alteration. Perhaps a mistake in the means rendered their labors ineffectual, but certainly the perfect civilization of this class would be a more difficult task than that of the peasants ; for being advanced thus far, the obstinacy and conceit, that usually attend half knowledge, may prevent them from advancing farther. And yet when we reflect on the barbarism of our own and of other countries for a few centuries past, we may be induced to form more favourable conjectures of a nation who are far from being destitute of radical virtues. A docile and humane peasantry, such as I have already described them, may under better laws be moulded into a better people. Further instructions may wear out their inveterate superstition. A nobility not deficient in natural abilities must at length feel their errors and misconduct, and acquire that good sense which will point out the means of amendment.—Their present absurd, ridiculous, motley manners are

such as must ever arise where foppery is ingrafted on ignorance, and ignorance grows presumptuous from sudden elevation. Another generation may melt these extremes into a more consistent mass. The Russians may one day become what we now are, and notwithstanding our present boasted superiority, we may possibly relapse into that barbarism from which they are endeavouring to emerge.

Having said thus much, it would be unpardonable to conclude this article without saying a few words of the female character, in a nation which owes a large share of its glory to female reigns.

The women of the lower sort still retain all that primæval barbarism of submission to their husbands, which has been so particularly remarked by all the ancient observers and travellers. The wives of the burghers or merchants are said, in general, to possess most of those virtues or qualities which constitute *la bonne femme du vulgaire*.

Among many in high life, the most profligate manners and unbounded libertinism prevail. Female chastity indeed seldom long flourishes in a gay court, nor is it any where much respected, unless accompanied with other virtues. Female manners in every country must receive a strong tincture from those of the men, and where the one is faulty the other cannot remain unimpeached. In Russia, as the instruction of the latter is usually committed to French adventurers, so the education of the former is assigned to French governesses, whose incapacity is the least of their

defects, and whose former situations render them but ill-qualified for so important a trust. Hence it is that in taste, elegance, and accomplishment, the Russian ladies are inferior to the fair sex of the neighboring nations. Neglected or corrupted in education, and destitute of resources in themselves, they naturally fly to every object that can dissipate or entertain them. Uninspired by sentiment, inconstant in engagement, they are often capricious, nay illiberal in their choice: late examples of such indelicacy are not wanting, where the tenderest attachments have given way to the lowest amours.

They are vain, light, and many of them interested, eagerly following every shadow of new and untried amusement, bold and adventurous in the pursuits of pleasure, equally regardless of danger and dishonor, unabashed by detection, and callous to reproach.

We are not, however, to consider all the court ladies, as involved in this harsh description.

Among them I could mention some of the brightest ornaments of their sex, and have only to lament that the number is comparatively so few, as to stand but an exception to the general character.

To delineate the character of a nation with judgment and fidelity requires more qualities than men commonly inherit from nature, or can acquire by study.

Impartiality is a first principle, and where that is wanting, learning serves but to mislead and ingenuity to betray.

To be free from prejudice is seldom the lot of humanity ; and if ever we attain to such perfection, it is usually when we are too far advanced in life to exert it with vigour, or insure its success.

Our early imprest ideas naturally become a standard for measuring other nations by ; all that comes up to it we insensibly stamp a merit upon, and undervalue without scruple whatsoever falls below it.—Even in maturer age we are too apt, like children, to admire or dislike those things which strike us as unusual, and rather acquiesce in opinions that grow from indolence and habit, than submit to the task of enquiry, or the toil of research.

If under circumstances like these we attempt a subject of this nature, we at best can only acquire the praise of genius without discernment, and of ability uninformed. We are defeated by our own confidence, and are beaten from the field, where victory would have attended a knowledge of the ground.

When a young writer is industrious, he is apt to grow enamoured of imaginary discoveries, and cherishes an opinion like a mistress he has won : thus diligence may give birth to fond presumption, and obstinacy become the result of his labor. The passions too at that age are strong and lively ;

if we appear to disclaim their influence, the reader feels the recital unpleasing, although he allows it to be just.

In maturer years we view mankind with severer eyes, and our tempers grow sour from disappointment, though our judgment is improved by experience. Thus we lose on one hand what we gain on the other, and gradually decline into moroseness whilst we are advancing to wisdom.

Hence, in describing the manners of a foreign people, we must proceed with delicacy and avoid extremes. Perplexity occurs in every step; endeavouring to elude danger, we fall into error; aiming at eloquence, we lose precision; and disgusted by vulgar opinions, are seduced by ingenious hypotheses: even candor is not sufficient here, vigilance must guard and prudence direct us, to the end of our career.

After mentioning the difficulties attending a task of this kind, for me to have undertaken it may perhaps seem to demand an excuse; but apologies are commonly awkward, and here would be unavailing: if I have departed from truth, have misrepresented or disguised her, there can be no vindication; but if I have endeavoured to make her better known, and have displayed her without adulation or malignity, I am secure of indulgence, though I may not aspire to applause.

Having thus shewn that strong marks of primæval rudeness still remain in every class of this people, it may be ex-

pected that I should endeavour to trace the cause, and discover the source of their long continued imperfection.

Many ingenious men have amused themselves in devising hypotheses and forming conjectures, why the Russians should have so long continued in barbarism; why, though emerging from it for a century past, they still continue the least virtuous and least ingenious nation in Europe. Some have ascribed it to the climate, whilst many think it owing to the manner of education, and others attribute it to the form of government.

The first of these causes seems to be of less force than the others; for the Swede who lives under the same parallel certainly bears no resemblance to the Russian. But laying aside the physical cause, let us examine for a moment the moral ones, which seem to have more weight: we have seen that the people continue barbarous, the clergy ignorant, and that the nobleman is but half civilized; that the two first can scarcely be said to have any education at all, whilst the latter had better have none than that which he has; as it is neither calculated to make him useful to society, nor happy and virtuous in himself.

We shall prove, in the following pages, that the government has always been despotic, is still despotic, and likely long to continue so: if then, the form of government can be supposed to influence, or rather create, the mental qualities and temper of the people, the Russians must remain unal-

tered, as long as the form of government continues the same.

Despotism can never long flourish, except in a barbarous nation; but to despotism Russia owes her greatness and dominion; so that if ever the monarchy becomes more limited, she will lose her power and strength, in proportion as she advances in moral virtue and civil improvement.

It will therefore always be the interest, as it has ever been the practice, of the sovereign, to hold the scale of civilization in his own hand, to check every improvement where it might clash with his authority, and encourage it only when subservient to his grandeur and glory.

I am sensible that the various projects of the present Empress may seem to contradict what I have said above; but the fact is, that most of her projects are impracticable; and therefore my assertion loses nothing of its weight. Besides, should the least inconvenience arise from the execution of them, the Empress, than whom no sovereign was ever more jealous or tenacious of *her* authority, can suppress them with a nod, or overthrow them with a breath.

Though the form of government certainly is, and will always be, the principal cause of the want of virtue and genius in this country, as making the motives of one, and the rewards of both, depend upon accident and caprice; yet there are many others, the examination of which might prove a

source of very ingenious investigation to the curious enquirer. I must, however, confess, that my own consideration of these points has never been attended with any great degree of demonstration, or conviction to myself. In moral and political as well as in metaphysical and theological researches, there is nearly the same incertitude; and though we may amuse ourselves with the speculation of second causes, we must still remain ignorant of the first: we are bewildered in our pursuit, and at the moment we think the chase within our reach, it mocks our eagerness and vanishes from our view.

I shall, therefore, rather turn my attention to the general history of this empire, which has less perplexity, and particularly remark the great events and revolutions, which, either in themselves or in their consequences, have produced even the small degree of civilization, to which Russia is arrived at the present period.

View of the Russian History.

THE ancient history of Russia, like that of all other nations, is involved in darkness and uncertainty, and is only known from the mention made of it, by its civilized neighbors.

We learn from the *Byzantine History*, that in the year 987, Volodimer, sovereign of Muscovy, espoused the princess Anna, sister to the Greek emperor Basilus Porphyogenitus; that he himself embraced the religion of his consort, and established christianity, by edict through all his dominions.

What is very remarkable, his subjects conformed to it without the least murmur or opposition ; which proves that they were at that time either sunk into the grossest stupidity, or the most abject slavery : for there is not to be found, in all history, a parallel instance, where a new mode of belief, however excellent and eligible, was so quietly and so universally imposed upon a whole nation.

This introduction of Christianity marks the first epocha of humanizing the Russians ; who, probably, at that period differed little from the Samojedes and Laplanders of the present time.

Volodimer divided his dominions among his sons, who subdivided them amongst theirs. Russia being thus broken into a number of little principalities, independent of, and in enmity with each other, easily fell a prey to the power of the Tartars ; who, though they permitted it to be still governed by its own princes, imposed the most rigorous conditions on them, and exacted the performance with unrelenting tyranny, during the space of two hundred years.

At length, about the middle of the fifteenth century, there arose a prince of invincible courage, and of uncommon talents for his age and country, John Basilowich the first ; who, by various arts and accidents, reunited in his person the whole monarchy of his great ancestor, Volodimer. He married Sophia the daughter of Thomas Paleologus, prince of Achaia. This alliance proved one of the sources of the greatness of Basilowich, and of the deliverance of Russia ; for Sophia,

who was a woman of a spirit congenial to her husband's, indignant of the Tartar yoke, soon conceived the means of shaking it off, and immediately put them in execution : she invited to her court many excellent Greek officers and expert engineers, who instructed her subjects in the use of artillery, then little known to the Muscovites, but totally unknown to the Tartars.

Basilowich, now sensible of these advantages, fired with the love of glory, and thirsting for revenge, not only renounced all vassalage to the Tartars, but from being a tributary became a conqueror; and with astonishing rapidity overran the dominions of his former masters; dethroned the Czar of Casan, and added that kingdom to his own. He then turned his arms against the Poles, over whom he gained many victories, and concluded all his great exploits by the important conquest of Novogorod, which opulent and flourishing republic he incorporated with the rest of his dominions.

This period forms a second epocha of civilization. The princess Sophia revived the improvements, which were introduced in the time of Volodimer, and had lain buried during the tyranny of the Tartars : she was a woman of great talents herself; and knowing how to value and encourage those of others, she invited to her court numbers of foreign artists and learned men, for the instruction of her subjects, for the softening of their manners, and enlightening their minds. It is remarkable, that at this very period, whilst the Greek empire

was torn up from its foundations, the Russian monarchy struck deep the roots of her subsequent greatness and dominion.

Basil Iwanowich, who mounted the throne in 1505, not only made no new conquests himself, but lost a great part of those which had been acquired by his father. After an inglorious and stormy reign of thirty years, he died in 1535, leaving an infant son to inherit his desolated empire.

This infant proved to be a great man, and by his wisdom, resolution and activity, repaired the faults of his father, and even surpassed the glory of his grandfather. Under this monarch, the possession of Casan was fully secured, and the kingdoms of Siberia and Astracan were conquered and united to Russia.

From this reign we may date another æra of civilization. In 1559, the discovery of Archangel was made by the English, which opened a new door to knowledge and improvement. The Czar, John Basilowich the second, seems to have had very just and extensive notions of trade in general, and of the advantages that must in particular result to his own barbarous empire, from the proper encouragement of it; he therefore invited the English merchants to settle in his dominions, granted them considerable privileges, and loaded them with honors and caresses. Whilst I observe that this conduct of his was entirely contrary to the advice and opinion of his boiars and counsellors, I cannot avoid also remarking,

that in this country *at least*, the sovereigns have frequently been much wiser than any of their subjects.

John Basilowich, though himself a barbarian, was so sensible of his country's barbarism, that he dispatched an extraordinary embassy to the emperor Charles the fifth, the principal intention of which was to request him to send to Russia not only artists and artizans to improve and polish his people, but also wise and experienced statesmen for the instruction of himself: he made the same application to queen Elizabeth; nay, went still farther; for, despairing to find a proper wife in his own country, he earnestly intreated that princess to send him a consort from England.

He was succeeded, in 1584, by his son Theodore Iwanowich, who dying without issue, the race of Volodimer became extinct in the male line. This period of the Muscovite history is a tissue of the most abominable crimes, of the cruellest rapines, and most horrid massacres, committed or authorized by the pretenders and usurpers of the throne of the Czars. Boris Gudanoff, his son Theodore, the false Demetriuses, Basil Chiouski and Uladislas of Poland, were all sovereigns of Russia, either together or by turns, within the space of fourteen years. At length, the other competitors being destroyed, Uladislas remained alone. But the Russians, disdaining the government of a foreign prince, renounced all allegiance to him, expelled the Poles, and proceeded to the election of a new Czar.

They chose Michael Theodorowich, of the house of Romanoff, and descended by the females from the race of Volodimer. He was a prince of great wisdom and moderation, and, after a prosperous and happy reign of upwards of thirty years, died in 1646, and was succeeded by his only son Alexis Michaelowich.

This monarch was not inferior in talents and capacity to any of his predecessors. He added the fine provinces of Plescow and Smolensko to his dominions, and secured to Russia the dependence of the Ukraine, which important country had, till his time, been subject to Poland. He reformed the laws of his empire, which he modelled into a regular code ; and had sense and spirit enough to repress the ambition of the patriarch, and to oppose the usurpations of the church.

The establishment of the principal manufactures was begun during his reign ; and the first idea of regular military discipline was given to the Russians, by the generals Gordon, Leslie and Dalziel. Equally attentive to arts and arms, Alexis encouraged learning and commerce, at the same time that he was engaged in war, and extending his territories : he saw that trade was the true fountain of riches and dominion, and already cherished the ambition of being a maritime power, and of forming fleets on the Black sea, and on the Caspian. He was undoubtedly a great and magnanimous prince, and laid the foundation of that immense influence and power on which Peter afterwards built his glory.

Alexis died in 1676, and was succeeded by his son Theodore, by whose death without issue, in 1682, his brothers John and Peter, became joint sovereigns.

John, being a prince equally infirm in body and mind, had no other share in the government than the insertion of his name in all acts of state ; and, dying in 1696, left Peter sole Czar and monarch of the Muscovite empire.

This reign forms the grand æra of that reformation which, though much more extensive than the preceding, is falsely believed to have totally changed and civilized the whole Russian nation. Peter, though endowed with strong natural abilities, and with wonderful talents, yet, like most Russians I have met with, he possessed not the discriminating faculty, that divine sagacity which explores the diamond in the mine, seizes its value, and at once decides amidst various degrees of excellence, which is most excellent.

To the want of this power are to be attributed all the imperfections which his plans were attended with : for, in the ardour of alteration and improvement, he indiscriminately adopted a thousand foreign customs and institutions, without regarding time, place, propriety, or circumstance : instead of forming his people upon originality, he molded them into imitators, and injudiciously deprived them of their ancient character, without ascertaining the practicability of giving them a better.

He was, notwithstanding, a very great man; to him Russia owes the acquisition of Ingria, Livonia, Esthonia, and Finland; to him she owes the creation of her marine, and, finally, to him she owes that military strength and political influence, which renders her, at this day, the predominating power of the north; which enables her to give law to many of her neighbours, and to command the attention and respect of the most distant powers.

After his death, which happened in 1725, the momentum, which he had given to the machine of government, still impelled it onward with considerable force, during the reigns of his successors, the Empress Catherine, his widow, and Peter the Second, his grandson; the former of whom died in 1727, and the latter in 1730.

According to the order of succession established by Peter the Great, the crown should have descended to the duke of Holstein Gottorp, son of his eldest daughter Anna Petrowna; which prince we have since seen upon the Russian throne: but, as *he* was, at that time, an infant, and as great disadvantages, if not dangers, were to be apprehended from a minority, it was determined by the principal noblemen and persons in authority to call to the succession the princess Anna Iwanowna, dutchess dowager of Courland, daughter of John Alexiowich, elder brother to Peter the Great. This they did under the pretence of a nuncupative will, said to be made by the Czar; who, as was asserted, had passed over his nephew of Holstein, on account of his youth, and his

sister Elizabeth, on account of her levity and love of pleasure, and had constituted his cousin, the abovementioned Anna Iwanowna, his successor to the empire.

This princess, who had an elder sister, the dutchess of Mecklenbourg, then living, not to mention the title of others, was out of all the rules of inheritance; but having a manly spirit and a strong discernment, immediately accepted the pretended will of Peter the second. 'Those who called her to the succession had limited power, yet she signed without scruple all the conditions prescribed, and mounted the throne of the Czars without opposition.

She found her empire without treasure or ability, the grandeur of Russia impaired, the splendor of her crown already sullied, and her own prerogative degraded and confined: but she soon vindicated the imperial authority, she filled the great offices with accomplished statesmen, and placed experienced generals at the head of her armies. It is true these statesmen and generals were chiefly foreigners: but under her auspices they served Russia with the affection of natives, with undoubted fidelity, and the most signal success.

This great princess was the arbiter of the north, and by her victories towards the south shook the foundations of the Ottoman empire; she rendered Courland and Poland totally dependent upon Russia: the one for its dukes, and the other for its kings; she greatly augmented the commerce of her

subjects by a judicious treaty with Great Britain ; and having reigned ten years, with unrivalled reputation, having re-established the peace of her empire, and settled the succession in her own branch, she died in the fulness of her glory, leaving ten millions of roubles in her coffers, being the greatest treasure that had ever been possessed at any one time by any of her predecessors.

She has been accused of severity, if not of cruelty ; but, surely, without good foundation ; for necessity and the love of justice fully authorized all those measures of her reign, which have been represented as rigorous and sanguinary : she had a perfect knowledge of the nature and temper of her subjects, and she governed them according to that knowledge ; she had weakness but for one man, and him we may pronounce a truly great man.

Biren and Osterman were her ministers, Munnich, Keith and Lacey were her generals.—What an elogium !

It is unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the more modern part of the Russian history : I shall only observe, that the Empress Anne's eldest sister Catherine Iwanowna, wife of Charles duke of Mecklenbourg, died in 1733, and left one daughter, who, in 1739, marrying Anthony Ulrick, prince of Brunswick Bevern, had by him a son, John, born the 12th day of August, 1740 ; which son the Empress Anne appointed her successor, flattering herself with hopes of securing the empire to her own branch by this settlement.

The convulsions in the government, which happened soon after her death, are well known, and every one is informed of the disgrace of Biren, and his banishment into Siberia ; of the manner in which the Emperor's mother assumed the reins of the regency ; and, finally, how the infant Emperor himself was dethroned, and sent with his whole family into a cruel exile.

This great revolution happened in the night of the 5th of December, 1741 ; and on the 6th, Elizabeth Petrowna mounted the throne of her father. This princess reigned upwards of twenty years, and enjoyed during her lifetime a much higher reputation than she merited. Equally ignorant of the principles of government, and of the character of her subjects, capricious and unjust, she abolished capital punishment, and yet retained the use of the torture. *Her tender mercies were cruel.*

Though she affected the praise of humanity, and was even so vain as to order Elizabeth *The Clement* to be inscribed on her medals ; she, by no means, merited that illustrious title ; for under her reign, and by her order, the most barbarous and wanton scene of cruelty was acted that ever disgraced the annals of any nation, and which sufficiently disproves the pretended civilization of this. Two ladies of the highest rank, eminent for their wit and extraordinary beauty, guilty of no real crime, (whatever was pretended,—) were exposed almost naked to the public view on a scaffold, suffered the most inhuman infliction of the knout, and had their tongues cut out with every circumstance of the most outrageous

brutality. This horrid tragedy was performed at St. Petersburg on the —— day of —— 1743, by the command of Elizabeth *The Clement*.

This princess had all the extremes of female pride and weakness; she was vain of her own charms beyond all credibility, and so jealous of those of others, that at her court, beauty was an unpardonable crime. Abandoning herself to every excess of intemperance and lubricity, she was inflexibly severe to those who, imitating her example, permitted themselves the same indulgences; prodigal, pusillanimous, vindictive, and inconstant. Such is the real character of Elizabeth, which has been so much mistaken, and misrepresented by many, who have not had opportunities of being truly informed. It is not to gratify malignity, or from an affectation of singularity, but merely from a love of justice, that I have painted this princess in these colours; I would not wantonly tear the chaplet from her brows; but the incitements to virtue are destroyed when we adorn vice and folly with the wreaths of honor.

Under the government of Elizabeth, Russia not only still maintained, but considerably augmented her power and importance. It is very remarkable, that the most glorious period of her reign was neither distinguished by military talents, nor civil abilities; that alliances were made without ministers, and victories gained without generals; those, who know the chancellor Woronzoff, and the marshals Butturlin and Soltikoff, must allow this to be no exaggeration.

Elizabeth dying on Christmas day 1761. Peter the third, duke of Holstein Gottorp, and son of her elder sister, succeeded to the crown. His education had been shamefully neglected in his youth ; no care had been taken to teach or improve him either by precept or example ; they gave him flatterers for friends, and buffoons for companions : in childhood they treated him as a man, in manhood they amused him like a child. Thus, though born to empire, he was never formed to it, and the defects of nature were suffered to remain in him uncorrected by education or instruction.

I shall pass over the short reign of this unfortunate prince, whose intentions were excellent, though his understanding was weak ; whose condescension and generosity to his subjects deserved mercy, if not gratitude ; and whose cruel catastrophic clouds the splendor of the present reign.

Catherine the second, was proclaimed Empress on the twenty-eighth of June 1762. As I shall speak more particularly of her in another place, I shall content myself with observing here, that, in genius, knowledge, and application, she is greatly superior to any of her subjects. By her wisdom and courage, she has raised Russia to the highest pitch of glory and power ; she has reinstated Biren in the dutchy of Courland, and given a king to Poland ; she has annihilated the French ascendancy at the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, and now principally influences, if she does not absolutely direct, all their political operations.

At the same time that she extends her predominancy to foreign nations, she is particularly attentive to domestic policy and improvement. Like Peter the great, she laments the barbarism of her subjects, and wishes to reform them; but whether the plans which she has adopted are well calculated for that purpose, and whether they will be attended with the expected success, must be left for time to determine: I cannot, however, avoid imagining, from the knowledge I have of her instruments, that many of her projects will either be very ill executed, or never executed at all; others are impracticable, or if practicable at any time, are certainly not so at this.

Thus I have taken a short and cursory view of the history of this great empire, in which we have seen the slow progress of civilization; and that though it was always advancing in some degree, ever since the time of John Basilowich the first, yet it did not take any very considerable strides, till the reigns of Alexis and Peter, under whose government manufactures were first established, and regular military discipline introduced; but even the improvements of these reigns and also of the subsequent, were chiefly directed to conquest and dominion: in such points, indeed, they very fully succeeded, but they neither awakened the genius, nor exalted the soul. The want of those effects sufficiently prove our former proposition, that the despotism of the government was, and still is the capital obstacle. Most of the sovereigns of Russia have been great men, such also might probably have been many of their subjects, had they dared to give play to

their powers, or had they felt themselves in those situations which call forth the display of talents and virtue: situations which rarely exist in absolute but are every day exerted in limited monarchies.

I cannot conclude this chapter without taking notice that, since the pretended civilization of this country, there have happened three such revolutions as the ancient history, of the Roman Emperors, or the modern of the Ottoman Sultans, can only parallel.

In many points, indeed, there is a strong resemblance between the Muscovites and the Orientals: the history of favourites and ministers in Russia is the history of bashaws and grand visirs in Turkey. Menchikoff was disgraced and banished by Dolgorouki, Dolgorouki by Biren, Biren by Munnich, Munnich by Lestock, and Lestock by Bestoucheff, who in his turn was exiled also. Of all these unfortunate statesmen there were but four remaining alive at the accession of Peter the third; Bestoucheff was the only one who found no favour from him, and indeed he had not merited any; but the others Biren, Munnich, and Lestock were recalled and received with distinction. Peter the third, whose levity was equal to his good-nature, invited them to the imperial table and reconciled them to each other: it is said by those who were present, that the interview of these three extraordinary personages was uncommonly entertaining, and that their embarrassment, concern, excuses, professions and embraces, were comic to the highest degree.

their pictures, because the design of Moses, according to them, in prohibiting the making or bowing down to graven images, was solely to prohibit worshipping the idols of the gentiles, which the gentiles believed to be gods; whereas they themselves admit no graven image, all being painted with colours.

Predestination and transubstantiation are also doctrines of their church; and the latter is maintained as strenuously as by the papists.

Of the Service of the Church.

THERE are three liturgies used in their public service; in common they use the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, and on particular holidays those of St. Basil or of St. Gregory. The style of the church service differs considerably from that of ordinary conversation, and therefore not being understood by the people in general, they are not able to make all the responses, but join in the worship by saying, "Lord, have mercy upon me;" bowing at the same time, and crossing themselves on the forehead first, then on the breast, then on the right shoulder, and then on the left; thereby making the figure of the cross; and with the thumb, the first and middle finger, by the three fingers signifying the Trinity.

The service is ~~performed~~ and partly chanted, but no musical instruments are admitted; the epistles and gospels and select passages from scripture are also read, but in the style

of the church ; which, frequently, is not understood even by the priests officiating, who, nevertheless, have a knack of running over the words very fast, in a loud voice, without either stops or emphasis. Sometimes they read a homily of St. Chrysostom, and sometimes they have sermons in particular churches but very rarely ; for no one is permitted to preach, without a special licence for that purpose. During the service, the priests or some officiating deacons frequently perfume the congregation with incense, and sprinkle them with holy water, which are much used in all their religious ceremonies. The congregation never sit, nor often kneel ; they express their outward adoration by bowing and crossing themselves ; and some as penances, others from a principle of devotion, bow so low as to beat their foreheads against the floor.

Of the Times of Worship, and of the Fasts and Festivals.

THE hours of the ordinary daily service are in the morning very early ; for mattins at noon ; and in the evening for vespers.

The observation of fasts and festivals constitutes an essential part of their devotion both public and private, and the former exceed in number and severity those of the papists. There are four great fasts or lents in the year, in which they neither eat flesh, milk, eggs, nor butter, but confine themselves to vegetables, bread, and fish fried in oil.

The fast before Easter is regulated by that moveable feast, and begins eight weeks before it: in the first week they eat butter, eggs, and milk, but not flesh; whence it is called *butter-week*, and may be looked upon as their carnival; for it is spent in public diversions, and all kinds of licentiousness.

The next is called St. Peter's fast, and continues from the Monday after Whitsunday to the 29th of June; and consequently is sometimes longer, sometimes shorter.

The fast of the Blessed Virgin is immoveable; it begins always on the first and continues to the 15th day of August.

St. Philip's fast is also immoveable, beginning on the 15th of November, and continuing to the 25th of December.

These are the four lents, besides which their usual weekly fasts are Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year.

The festivals of the church are too many to be enumerated, the principal of which are the same as in other christian churches; besides which, almost every day in the year is dedicated to some inferior saint, either the patron of a province or of a parish; nay, even their houses are believed to have their guardian saints; and so numerous are they that sometimes three or four saints have but one day. St. Nicholas is the patron of the province of Archangel; and hence it is, that in earliest accounts given of this country,

he is erroneously called the patron of Russia, which is not the case ; but Archangel being the place to which the English first traded, they were easily led into the mistake.

To these must be added the several state festivals ; as the commemoration of the battle of Pultawa, on the 27th of July ; the festivals of the regiments of guards ; the birth-day, names-day, accession and coronation of the sovereign ; the birth-day and names-day of the grand duke ; and the three orders of knighthood.

On all these days they have particular services or collects ; and on several they have grand processions of the clergy, at some of which her Imperial Majesty and the court assist ; particularly on twelfth day, and on the 30th of August, being the day of the order of St. Alexander.

On twelfth day or the Epiphany, they have a very singular ceremony of christening, or blessing the water. There is a kind of alcove or temple of wood, painted green and gilt, hung with various pictures ; particularly of St. John the Baptist, erected for the occasion upon the ice on the river before the palace ; it is fenced round with a temporary hedge of the boughs of fir-trees ; this temple is called the Jordan ; in the middle of it the ice is broken to the water about eight or ten feet square ; the bishops and clergy come in a solemn procession from the chapel of the palace, with her Imperial Majesty, and sanctify the water in the river by dipping the cross into it, and performing a service. After which they sprinkle the standards, the artillery, and the soldiers

of as many regiments as are near the city, which are all drawn up round the place; and bottles of the water are sent to such regiments as are at too great a distance to attend. The common people are of opinion that the water, thus sanctified, has a virtue to cure all true believers in the Greek church of bodily as well as spiritual diseases: and some men, though it be in the severest weather, strip and bathe in the river: it is very common to dip children; and sick persons are brought to drink the water, for they seem to choose it as near this spot as they can, though they maintain that, after the benediction, all the waters are sanctified and as good and efficacious as these: most of the vulgar wash their faces at least, and carry bottles of it home to keep for their family use, in case of wounds or sickness, and to exorcise evil spirits from their houses. This is performed three other days, but not with the same pomp.

At Easter the Russians have a ceremony of congratulating each other on the holiday, by presenting an egg and kissing one another, and saying, "Christ is risen," to which the other replies, "he is risen indeed," which custom doubtless arose from this being the first day of eating eggs or meat after the long fast. On Easter-eve the service of the church begins about midnight, and lasts two or three hours; and as soon as they return home they have a plentiful entertainment provided of all kinds of meat, at which, though so early in the morning, they indulge themselves very largely.

On the 23d day of April there is a ceremony of blessing the cattle, as it is called, which has been often represented

as very ridiculous, because the priest sprinkles them with holy water; but, in reality, the intention of the service is only to pray to God to preserve them from murrain, and to bless the food of the earth, this being the first day of turning them to graze, after they have been stalled so many months as the long winter in this climate continues.

On the 6th day of August, there is a service vulgarly called *blessing the apples*, till after which they are not permitted to be eaten: but the true intention of it is a thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth.

Of the Sacrament of the Russian Church.

In the Russian church there are seven sacraments, *viz.* baptism, baptismal unction, the eucharist, ordination, penance, marriage, and extreme unction: the two former, though distinct sacraments, (there being no confirmation in this church,) are administered at the same time.

Baptism they look upon as the most essential point of religion; for they hold the doctrine of original sin: and persons who have been notorious offenders and excommunicated, or considered as reprobates and apostates, are re-admitted, as members of the church, by repeating their baptism; which, in that case, is usually performed on the Epiphany, the day of calling the gentiles. There have been instances of the same person being baptized ten or twelve times.

As soon as a child is born, unless it be too weak, it is carried to church by the god-fathers and god-mother, where being met at the door by the priest he signs the child with the sign of the cross on the forehead, and gives it the benediction, saying, "The Lord preserve thy going out and thy coming in." They then walk up together to the font, which is placed in the middle of the church; round the edge of which the priest fastens four lighted wax-candles delivered to him by the sponsors, whom he incenses and consecrates the water by dipping the cross into it with a great deal of ceremony: then begins a procession round the font, the clerk goes before with the image of St. John the baptist, being followed by the sponsors with wax candles in their hands; thus they go about it three times, while the priest reads the service: the procession being over, the sponsors give the name of the child to the priest in writing, which, among the common people, is usually that of the saint of the day, or within eight days nearest it, either preceding or following; but this is not much observed among the gentry, who chuse to keep family names; the priest puts the name upon an image, which he holds upon the child's breast and asks the sponsors, "whether the child believes in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?" having answered "yes" three times, they all turn their backs to the font, as a sign of their aversion to the three next questions to be asked by the priest, viz. "whether the child renounces the devil? whether he renounces his angels? whether he renounces his works?" The sponsors answer "I renounce" distinctly to each question, and spit three times upon the ground, as a mark of detestation. Then they turn their faces to the font again, and being asked by

the priest, "whether they promise to bring up the child in "the true Greck religion?" the exorcism begins; the priest puts his hand upon the child, and blows three times, saying these words, "get out of this child thou unclean spirit, and "make way for the Holy Ghost:" he then cuts off a lock of the child's hair, and wraps it up in a piece of wax, and throws it into the font; after which the child is stripped quite naked, and the priest takes it in his arms, and plunges it in the water three times, pronouncing the words of the sacrament, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and "of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Immediately after the immersion, he signs it with the sign of the cross, with an oil consecrated by a superior bishop, on the forehead, on the breast, on the shoulders, on the palms of the hands, and on the back. This is another sacrament called the chrism, or *baptismal unction*, and by virtue of this it is supposed, the child receives the Holy Ghost. The priest having put a corn of salt in its mouth, puts a clean shirt upon it, and says, "thou art as clean and clear from "original sin as thy shirt." He then hangs about its neck a little cross of gold, silver, or lead, which is strictly preserved by the Russians, who deny christian burial to such as have not one about them when they die: in cases of necessity, the midwife or any other person, except the parents, can administer baptism. Those who are sponsors for the same child are looked upon as so nearly related; they are not permitted to intermarry.

Concerning the *eucharist*, the chief things remarkable are, that the bread must be leavened, and made into small cakes

and marked with the sign of the cross; they mix warm water with the wine, and put the bread into it, having first broken it, and deliver both the elements together in a spoon to the communicants. 'This sacrament is administered to infants as soon as they are baptized; and the common people, if a child is ill, consider it as the best remedy. Every person is obliged to communicate once a year; and to confess to the priest, though by his connivance this law is often evaded, as, for a few copecks, he sets down any one's name as having received.

With respect to *ordination* there are no great qualifications required for the inferior priests especially, the chief requisites are sobriety and good manners, and that they can read in their own language and write.

As to *penance*, the usual penances prescribed by the priests are an attendance at a certain number of masses, alms, fastings, and pilgrimages: but it is particularly provided by the spiritual regulation of Peter the Great, in the year 1722, that no priest or confessor should exact money of his penitents for his own account before he grants absolution; auricular confession is esteemed necessary, and, if the penitent confesses any treasonable design against the government, the priest is obliged to report it immediately to the bishop: the power of excommunicating is vested solely in the synod.

Marriage is accounted very honorable among the Russians, and very few, except such as are in monasteries, either men or women, are unmarried after they are of age to marry: polygamy is prohibited, nor can any one marry more than

three times. Formerly all matches were made by the parents of the parties, sometimes without so much as the young persons having seen each other; but a more polite intercourse of the sexes has taken place since the reformation of Peter the Great; yet still the consent of parents is essential to marriage. During the ruder and more barbarous ages the ceremonies of marriage were very numerous and particular; and among the lower class of people, especially in the villages, several of those ceremonies are still retained; but by persons of superior rank they are entirely abolished, though they make very splendid entertainments on these occasions: the bridegroom and bride exchange rings as a token of affection, and at the conclusion of the service in church, the priest finishes with these words, "whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." It is remarkable that the parents of the parties are never permitted to be in the church during the ceremony. With regard to the lowest class, they as being vassals must have the consent of the lord to whom they belong; especially if the woman desires to marry the slave of another lord, in which case it is usual to agree for a female in return, because the property of the children belongs to him to whom the husband belongs. The only causes on which divorces are admitted, are, either when the man from a principle of devotion goes into a monastery, or persuades or forces his wife into one, or can actually make proof of adultery against her.

Extreme unction can only be administered by a priest, and to a person of the true Greek religion; confession is necessary previous to it, and prayer during the performance.

Of the Funeral Ceremonies of the Russians.

THE ceremonies of their interments, at present, are much fewer than in former times ; such as are most remarkable and different from other European nations are those which follow.

Burying the dead is one of the seven charities to the bodies of men, mentioned under the doctrine of the church ; and the poorest people are often buried by contribution, which some of the friends of the deceased collect by begging with a wax-candle laid upon a plate : and sometimes the corpse is laid in the public streets, with a plate and a wax-candle, or incense set upon it.

Persons of condition, as soon as any one of the family is dead and laid out, send to the priests, who attend alternately in the room, and read the psalter night and day without intermission, till the time of the funeral. When the deceased is laid in the coffin, which is generally covered with scarlet cloth or velvet, his arms are laid cross his breast, and a printed paper, a kind of label, is put on his forehead, with this ejaculation, “ O most holy, almighty, and everlasting God, have mercy upon me ;” another paper is put into his hand containing two prayers ; the one is composed in the first person, as the prayer of a departing soul for forgiveness of his sins, and for a blessing on his family and friends, whom he has left behind him : the second is an absolution supposed to be pronounced by the bishop or confessor,

whose name is inserted in it. This paper is doubtless what has been so universally represented by foreigners, as a passport to St. Peter; but it is so far from it, that it is expressly said not to be necessary, but merely voluntary, and it is only used in burials of ceremony, at least very seldom in others.

At the funeral, the coffin is covered with a pall of rich brocade or tissue, which is afterwards made into vestments for the priests, frequently at the expence of the family of the deceased, and presented to the church: the priests and choristers walk before the corpse to the grave, carrying the cross, &c. chanting psalms during the whole procession; all who attend the funeral rites follow it with wax-candles lighted in their hands; as soon as they come to the grave these are all changed, and every person present, be the number ever so great, has one given him to hold, which are all left in the church, as perquisites to the priests; the coffin is always uncovered during the service, and before the lid is fastened down, the friends and relations of the deceased take their last farewell, some kissing him, some the coffin; there is afterwards a service performed upon the grave, morning and evening, for six weeks, and every fortieth day for the first year, and afterwards annually upon the return of the day on which he died, and upon his names-day. This custom, it should seem, is chiefly or solely to testify the respect of the living; for it is continued as long as any of the family choose to pay for it; and the Russian church absolutely denies the doctrine of purgatory, though it admits prayers for the dead to be a most ancient and pious custom.

Of the Churches, and their Ornaments.

THE churches are built of brick or wood ; the former are not inelegant buildings, though usually overloaded with decorations, according to the style of their architecture ; some are built in the form of a cross, others are oblong, others nearly square ; they have always a large dome with a cross at the top, and sometimes four smaller cupolas with crosses ; they are generally covered with plates of iron, either white, or painted green, and the ornaments gilt, or in some churches the whole domes are entirely gilt on the outside, which has a fine effect. Over the doors and over the gates of the church-yard are placed the pictures of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, and many others ; to these the people bow and cross themselves before they enter the church ; and even, in passing them on the road, they seldom omit this mark of respect. The chiming of bells is looked upon as essential to the service, so that every church has them ; they are always fixed immoveably to the beams which support them, and are rung by tying a rope to the clapper of the bell.

In the inside, there are several different chapels, dedicated to different saints ; many of the churches are profusely gilt, and all are hung with a vast number of pictures ; some of which, particularly at the Trinity monastery, near Moscow, which is the Loretto of this country, are ornamented with jewels and precious stones round the frames, to a great

value. Before these pictures, on the saint's days in the calendar, they always burn wax-candles. There are no forms or seats in any church, but there is a sort of tribunal in every one, with a canopy over it and a rail before it, for the Empress, who never sits down.

At the east end of every church is the altar, with a rail before it, always more richly gilt and decorated with more pictures than any other part of the church; in the middle of which is a kind of screen or folding doors opening into another apartment, which seems to represent the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Jewish temple: in this is the table of the shew-bread, and here the elements for the eucharist are consecrated; on the sides are other apartments, where the relicks belonging to the church are deposited, and the vestments of the priests are kept: for these vestments which are the property of the church, and only are worn during the service, are in many places exceedingly rich: those of the superior clergy are of the finest gold or silver tissues, silks, velvets, and cloth of gold, decorated with vast quantities of pearls, and other jewels; and it is said, that the pearls in the habits of the clergy at the Trinity monastery would fill a bushel measure; and one ruby only, in one of the Archimandrite's mitres, for there are three mitres, is worth 20,000 Ro. there is also a cross which he carries, set with jewels, presented by the late Empress Elizabeth, which is valued at 200,000 Ro. The shrine of St. Alexander Neufsky, in the church of the monastery dedicated to him near St. Petersburg, is of massy silver, with his banners of the same, and

the story of his actions executed in basso relievo ; this was likewise presented by the same Empress.

General Reflections on the Religious Principles of the Russians.

THAT the Russians are very superstitious, will readily be imagined by every one, who considers that ignorance is the mother of superstition ; and so little are the vulgar informed of the principles of their religion, that scarcely any of them are able to repeat the Creed or the Lord's prayer by heart ; their usual devotion being only to cross themselves, and say, " Lord have mercy upon me." Yet this they never omit morning and evening, before and after eating or drinking, or whenever they set about a new work ; insomuch, that seldom does a common carrier or post-boy set out on a journey without crossing himself.

It has been remarked, that no people of any nation in the world pays a greater regard to a solemn oath made before a magistrate, than the Russians ; indeed, by the constitution of their government, this is very seldom done in any judicial process ; never but when other proofs, from the circumstances of the transaction, cannot be had ; in which case, it being left to either of the parties to swear to the truth of his allegations, it has scarcely ever happened that both have offered to swear. And yet, in common conversation, not only the vulgar, but persons of the first quality, even the ladies, express themselves by an oath, as familiarly as by the most common expletives.

Religious pictures are not only the furniture of their churches, but are in every public office or college, and in a corner of every apartment of each college, as well as in all the rooms of every private house, to which all persons bow and cross themselves before they address any one in the room; nor is there a shop at the public markets without them. Though the superstitious use of pictures is very great in this country; though they are and must be all executed by members of the Greek church only, it must be observed, that the same cause which produced excellence in painting through Italy, and other popish countries, has been utterly unoperative here: they have never had one good painter, or one capital picture in Russia; on the contrary, they are generally most miserable daubings, some of which, notwithstanding, are said to be the work of angels.

It is likewise remarkable, that though their religious ceremonies are very numerous, the decorations of their churches very glaring and profuse, the sacred utensils very magnificent, the habits of their priests very splendid, the austerity of their fasts very rigid, and the observation of holidays very frequent; yet, their worship is so far from being captivating, that it appears exceedingly irregular and slovenly; nor is there, perhaps, any people upon earth, among whom there is less appearance of seriousness and devotion in the public service; or among whom the national clergy are so little respected, or rather so universally despised; notwithstanding the third precept of the church expressly enjoins the reverencing of the ministers.

It is true, that except some few of the superior clergy, they have had no education, and are generally taken from the lowest of the people, who are not absolutely slaves; their appointments are also very inconsiderable, and their stated perquisites so very small, that they depend chiefly on the voluntary donations of their flocks; their inferior priests, likewise, are full as much addicted to the vice of drunkenness, as the meanest of the people, though by the canons they are liable to a sentence of degradation for it: to all which may be added, what is also peculiar to this country, that the people, ignorant as they are, are yet more enlightened than the clergy; and that the reformation, in civil affairs, has made a much greater progress than in ecclesiastical. Even the superior clergy are not on so respectable a footing as in most other countries, where they are often persons of the first families, which is very seldom the case in Russia: however, they have some outward marks of respect paid them; for the gentry, of the highest rank, will not scruple to kiss the hands of a bishop, and demand his blessing.

Upon the whole, it may with justice be said, there is amongst them the greatest degree of superstition and bigotry, the lowest notions of the duties of morality, and the most idolatrous ideas of the adoration of the Deity imaginable: for it is thought, that building a church, performing a pilgrimage, giving alms, or abstaining from meat, is a compensation for any breach of the moral law; and it is as certain, as natural, that the pictures and saints of the priests are the

gods of the vulgar ; who cannot salve their idolatry with art and distinction, but worship with their heart what they behold with their eyes. And as to those of superior rank and better education, especially such as have travelled, if they have discovered the absurdity of their earlier principles, and surmounted those prejudices, they have generally stopped at that point, and are, for the most part, sceptics, without any religion at all, and commonly without knowing why they are so ; taking up their infidelity upon trust, from those with whom they have chanced to converse abroad, or from a few foreign books they have read ; and following those guides as implicitly, as others follow the superstitions of their ancestors.

No account is here given of the miracles said to have been wrought by their saints, many of which, even of the most received, are too ridiculous to be related : and it must be confessed, this is not the age for propagating them ; especially, since by the spiritual regulation of 1722, it is particularly provided, that no new ones be admitted without a more severe scrutiny than those of former ages could possibly have stood the test of ; and that very heavy punishments be inflicted upon such as should attempt to impose upon the popular credulity.

Of the Bishops of the Russian Church.

THE Russian clergy are divided into regular and secular : of the former, the superiours are metropolitans, archbishops and bishops ; which titles, of archbishop or metropolitan,

are not annexed to the episcopal see, except to those of Novogorod, Moscow, Petersbourg, and Kiow in Little Russia: but as to the rest, they are entirely personal distinctions, which the crown confers according to its own pleasure, though, in general, seniority is regarded in granting them. The bishopricks are ranged into three classes, and that arrangement also depends wholly on the will of the sovereign, who disposes absolutely of all dignities in the church: the synod, indeed, proposes the candidates, of which number one is usually named, though sometimes the whole list is set aside, and no attention paid to it. It is not necessary that the bishops should be chosen out of the monastic order, though they always assume it as soon as they are elected.

The names of the archbishops and bishops according to their classes: M. S. signifies member of the synod.

FIRST CLASS 3.

Demetrius, metropolitan and archbishop of Novogorod and Velikoluzk, first member of the synod.

Timothy, metropolitan and archbishop of Moscow and Calonga. M. S.

Gabriel, archbishop of Petersbourg and Revel. M. S.

SECOND CLASS 8.

Innocent, bishop of Pleskow and Riga. M. S.

Benjamin, archbishop of Cazan and Swiatkij. M. S.

Methodius, bishop of Astracan and Stauropol.

Paul, metropolitan of Tobolsky and Siberia.

Athanasius, bishop of Rostow and Jaraslaff. M. S.
 Ambrose, archbishop of Croutisky and Mogeaisk. M. S.
 Palladius, bishop of Rezan and Schatzk. M. S.
 Gabriel, bishop of Tweor and Kaschiuz.

THIRD CLASS 14.

Parthenius, bishop of Smolensko and Dorogobusch.
 Porphirius, bishop of Bellegorod and Oboiansk. M. S.
 Gennadius, bishop of Sousdal and Jourjeff.
 Joseph, bishop of Wologda and Bielosero.
 Theodosius, bishop of Colomna and Koschin.
 Bartholomew, bishop of Wiatka and Great Pernie.
 Joasaph, bishop of Archangel and Cholmogorskij.
 Theodosius, bishop of Oustiuga and Rotemsky.
 Tichon, bishop of Woronetz and Jeletzki.
 Sophronius, bishop of Irkoutsky and Nertzschinsk
 Sylvester, bishop of Pereslaff and Dmitreff.
 Damascenus, bishop of Kostroma and Galitsch.
 Paul, bishop of Waladimer and Mourom.
 Pachomius, bishop of Tamboff and Pensa.

The two Vice-bishops are,—

One of Novogorod, John, bishop of Olonetz and Hargopol.

The other of Moscow, Tichon, bishop of Sewsk and Briansk.

The bishops of the second class all rank as archbishops. Besides the above list, there are five bishops in Little Russia, and four Georgian, who do not belong to these classes.

Of the Monks and their Convents.

THE only order of monks in this country, is that of St. Basil, or as it is sometimes called of St. Anthony, he having first introduced that order into Russia. They are admitted by the tonsure, a very small part of the crown of the head being shaved; the rules respecting their fasts and prayers are very rigid: their habits are black, which, it is said, are made in shape to resemble a coffin, those who assume it, being considered as dead to the world; upon their heads they wear a black broad hood. Married persons, as was observed before, may enter into the monastic life.

The monasteries or abbies are divided into two sorts, one called stawropiguialni, the other ordinary. The abbots of the former are called Archimandrites (from *μανδρα*, *septum*, *sepimentum*) they are of a superior rank, and may be reckoned equal to mitred abbots, though they, as well as the bishops in this country, wear only a bonnet or hood, except when they are officiating: neither they nor their monasteries are subject to the bishop of the diocese, but the synod only, having formerly been subject to the patriarch alone.

Hiero-monachi, and Hiero-diaconi, are ecclesiastics who officiate in monasteries, yet are capable of higher preferments in the church.

The whole number of monks is 2842.

The monasteries, like the bishopricks, are divided into three classes, that of the Troitza or Trinity is not ranked among the rest, the Archimandrite of which is a member of the synod.

In the first class there are fifteen monasteries, six of which are Stawropigialni. } 15

In the second class there are forty-two, four of which are Stawropigialni. } 42

In the third class there are an hundred monasteries, which are governed by priors or Egumens, (perhaps from *αγο, duco.*) } 100

157

Of the Nuns and their Convents.

No woman can, regularly, be admitted into a nunnery till fifty years of age; nevertheless, this rule is not strictly observed, for some are admitted at fourteen or fifteen years of age, and, in short, of every age. They as well as the monks are admitted by the tonsure, when they assume the veil, and their habits are also long black gowns, and broad black hoods which fall back upon their shoulders; when they attend divine service, they have a crape or veil which covers the upper part of the face. Their hours of prayer, and the rigour of their fasts, differ very little from those of the monks.

EXTRACT FROM

Even though their life is devoted to the exercise of religion, they are by no means confined to their cloisters, with such severity as in Roman Catholic countries. They are not at liberty to quit their order; notwithstanding, there are a few instances of such dispensations having been granted.

The principal or head of these convents is called Egumena. The whole number of nuns is 1366.

These convents are also divided into three classes; that of the resurrection at St. Petersburg is not reckoned in the number, but receives its appointment immediately from the Empress, who in the year 1763, established a school or academy there, for the education of two hundred young ladies of noble families, and two hundred and forty girls of inferior rank; who are all educated and maintained at the expence of the crown.

“ In the first class there are 4 nunneries.

In the second class 18

In the third class 45

67

Of the secular Clergy.

THE secular priests are called popes, i. e. fathers: they are the parochial clergy, and are those, who being the lowest and the most ignorant, are generally the least esteemed. They are commonly named by the bishop of the diocese,

and sometimes by the crown: they are always married, but are permitted to marry only once; and when the wife dies, they are obliged to retire to some monastery, or to take some inferior office in the church, or else entirely to quit their order.

Their children are usually brought up to the church, and sometimes arrive at the highest dignities in it.

The heads or governors of this order, under the bishops, are called proto-popes: some of whom are sometimes members of the synod.

It is not easy to ascertain the exact number of the secular priests, for in the revision, they are reckoned with their wives and children, and amount to 168,519 males, and 163,263 females; but they are usually estimated at about 25,000 officiating priests.

They receive their salary, which is not more than 15 roubles *per annum* each, from the college of œconomy, according to their classes: the rest of their subsistence arises from the perquisites of their office, which are rated very low, nor can they demand any thing further, though it is usual for those who can afford it, to give them some small gratuity beyond their stated fees.

Of the Revenues of the Church.

FORMERLY the churches and monasteries had their own lands and slaves, from whence their revenues arose, but since the crown has taken those lands into its own possession, the appointments of the several archbishops, bishops, &c. are all settled, as in the following list, according to their classes: besides which, each bishop and abbot has the ecclesiastical dues and perquisites arising from his diocese or abbey.

<i>Bishops of the First Class.</i>			Ro.	Co.
Archbishop of Novogorod, &c.	-	-	11,031	20
of Moscow, &c.	-	-	7,510	85
of Petersbourg, &c.	-	-	15,000	00

<i>Bishops of the Second Class.</i>				
Bishop of Plescow, &c.	-	-	6,000	00
7 bishops, at 5000 Ro. each	-	-	35,000	00

<i>Bishops of the Third Class.</i>				
14, at 4232 Ro. 20 Cop. each	-	-	59,250	80

<i>Two Vice-bishops.</i>				
At 4030 Ro. 80 Cop. each	-	-	8,061	60
Abbot of Trinity monastery	-	-	10,070	00

<i>Monasteries of the First Class.</i>				
15, at 2017 Ro. 50 Cop. each abbot	-	-	30,262	50

Carried forward 182,185 95

Monasteries of the Second Class.

	Ro.	Co.
Brought forward	182,186	95
42, at 1311 Ro. 90 Cop. each abbot	55,099	80

Monasteries of the Third Class.

100, at 806 Ro. 30 Cop. each prior	80,630	00
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Nunneries of the First Class.

Of the Ascension at Moscow	2,009	80
The Novodevitschei, or new Convent	2,009	80
Of the Assumption of the Virgin at Pereslaff	2,007	70
Of the Protection of the Virgin at Sousdal	1,506	30

Nunneries of the Second Class.

18, at 475 Ro. 80 Cop. each	8,564	40
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Nunneries of the Third Class.

45, at 375 Ro. 60 Cop. each	16,902	00
Allowed to the Cathedral Churches, and some others,	93,900	00
suppose 30, at 3130 Ro.		
Her Majesty's Gift of	32,480	00
Secular Priests, 25,000, at 15 Ro. each	375,000	00
Total	852,296	75

Of the Ecclesiastical Government.

CHRISTIANITY, it is generally agreed, was first received in this country towards the end of the tenth century; from

which time this church had always been subject to the patriarch of Constantinople till the year 1588; when the archbishop of Novogorod was consecrated patriarch of the Russian church, which denied the pretensions of that of Constantinople, and declared itself independent. Yet it appears that since that period they have frequently appealed to the see of Constantinople: Alexis Michaelowich, for instance, father of Peter the Great, having been excommunicated by the patriarch of Moscow, obtained the protection of the patriarch of Constantinople against the insult, and by his authority deposed the Russian patriarch.

About the year 1701, upon the death of Adrian the last patriarch, Peter the Great entirely suppressed that dignity, and declared himself head of the church; and, in the year 1722, instituted a spiritual college, for the government of the church, called, "The holy legislative synod."

This college consisted at first of twelve members; three of whom were always bishops; but the number has since varied according to the Sovereign, who nominates every member, and at present there are only five and the chief procurer, who is always a civilian, and considered as placed there on the part of the crown, and no vote nor resolution can pass till he has approved it. The present members are,

Demetrius, metropolitan of Novogorod and Velikoluzk.

Gabriel, archbishop of St. Petersbourg and Revel, and archimandrite of the convent of St. Alexander Neufsky.

Innocent, bishop of Plescow and Riga.

M. de Melissino, chief procureur actual counsellor of state.

Bartholomew, archimandrite of the convent of Znamensky.

Theodore, proto-pope of the cathedral of the Assumption Moscow.

The archbishop of Novogorod is first and perpetual member, and as such receives a salary of 1500 Roubles *per ann.* the rest attend by turns for a year, more or less, as the Sovereign pleases, and have 1000 Roubles during their attendance on the college: those who have once been members of the synod always retain the title: each member is obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the Sovereign, couched in the strongest terms, before they are qualified to sit.

This board is invested with the power which had been lodged in the hands of the patriarch; all disputes between bishops, or persons belonging to different dioceses, are referred hither: so that, though every bishop has the government of his own diocese in ecclesiastical matters, there always lies an appeal from him to the synod; and the power of excommunication is vested only in the college.

Of Tolerated Religions.

THERE is no country in the world where all religions are more freely tolerated than in Russia; the Jews and the Jesuits only are excepted, and some few even of these are

connived at ; however, by the constitution, all the different sects of Christians, Mahometans, and Pagans, are freely suffered to enjoy their own worship.

All Russes who are separatists from the established church, are called *Raskalshiks*, i. e. schismatics : from which common appellation, it has been frequently misunderstood that they are only one sect ; whereas there are several subdivisions among them, one sect differing from another as much as from the established church. Some do not conform to the liturgies of the church ; others do not admit the same confession of the faith, adhering to that of Nichon, though the difference is little more material than the date of the addition : others in the way of making the sign of the cross, with two fingers instead of three ; and among them they pretend to have curious collections of the hands of dead saints, to shew in what manner they bent their fingers in crossing themselves as they were dying : these, likewise never pronounce the hallelujah three times : others there are which resemble the Quakers, in having no priesthood ; but notwithstanding, they have the sacraments, which may be administered by any one, man or woman. Besides these, there are a great many other tenets, too many to be noticed in particular.

In former reigns these separatists have undergone great persecutions, which, as has always been the case in religious persecutions, served only to increase their number, and the prejudices of the converts. At present they are per-

mitted to enjoy their private sentiments, and to worship the Deity according to their consciences: only they are obliged to pay the crown one rouble and twenty copecks *per* head, which is equal to the poll-tax, for the privilege; in consequence of which milder treatment they decline daily, and the whole number at present is between forty and fifty thousand males and * females who pay the tax: though it is supposed there are many more who do not avow their principles.

* Males only pay the tax.

END OF EXTRACT FROM THE ACCOUNT OF RUSSIA.

E X T R A C T

FROM

AN ACCOUNT OF IRELAND

IN 1773,

BY A LATE CHIEF SECRETARY OF THAT KINGDOM.

A SHORT SKETCH OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF IRELAND.

IRELAND was anciently divided into a number of small districts, or principalities, which were governed by their respective princes, or chieftains.

These chieftains acknowledged the supreme authority of one sovereign, whom they commonly elected from among themselves, and whom they considered as the general of their armies, to repel invasions from abroad, and to preserve peace and good order at home.

They paid him homage and tribute, but they permitted him as little as possible to interfere in the administration or œconomy of their own provinces.—For a long series of years the government of Ireland was conducted in this manner, until a quarrel of a domestic nature between two of the chieftains laid the foundation for that system of policy, which is the subject of this treatise.

The weaker prince, Mac Morough of Leinster, who had been the aggressor, solicited the assistance of Henry the Second, King of England. That aspiring monarch had long

considered the possession of Ireland as an object worthy of his ambition, and had even already taken such steps towards the accomplishment of it as were usual in those days of ignorance and superstition.—He had addressed himself to the pope, and obtained from his holiness a bull which, in the vulgar opinion, fully authorized him to undertake the conquest of the country ; but he was obliged, by certain immediate considerations, to defer for some time the execution of this project. Being engaged in a war with France when Mac Morough came to implore his aid, he excused himself for the present from complying with his entreaty ; but, by letters patent, he granted licence to all his subjects throughout his dominions to assist the suppliant chieftain, and promised soon to come to his relief in person.

Stronghow, Fitz Stephen, Prendergrast, and several other gallant adventurers, offered their services on this occasion : and, perhaps not less animated by the spirit of chivalry, than engaged by views of advantage, passed over to Ireland with a numerous following, and re-established the Irish prince in his former dignity.

In recompence for this service, Stronghow obtained the chieftain's daughter in marriage, with a great territorial dowry, and thus became connected with the country by the strongest ties of interest and alliance.

His companions in the expedition also acquired large possessions and, having vanquished several of the Irish princes, formed regular colonies in different parts of the island.

This singular enterprise, achieved by a few brave individuals, strongly resembles the romantic conquest of Naples by Tancred and his Norman friends in the century before. Such signal success shows what valor and elevation of mind can accomplish, and that nothing is too difficult for the darings of heroic virtue. The vulgar, who feel no sentiments of this generous growth, affect to disbelieve or to undervalue such astonishing efforts ; but those, who are acquainted with human nature, know that the heart of man is capable of almost incredible dilatation and, when seconded by good fortune, raises itself to the height of the most arduous undertaking.

The conquest of Naples by the Norman gentlemen, this expedition of Strongbow and his companions, and the later exploits of the Portuguese and Spaniards in both hemispheres, remind us of the celebrated labours of Theseus and Hercules : we see that nature forms exalted spirits in every age, and that the history of ancient heroism, though it owes its ornaments to poetry and fable, stands on the original foundation of truth.

Henry, having now successfully surmounted those difficulties which prevented his going to Ireland when first invited, and having received the strongest assurances of submission and obedience both from the natives and his own subjects, repaired to that country without delay. He landed at Waterford in 1172, where he was received by the people as a guardian angel: the principal chieftains and clergy

voluntarily submitted to his authority, accepted him as their sovereign, and freely swore fealty and allegiance

Thus ended the ancient monarchy of Ireland; and thus the fortunate Henry, without a blow, became sovereign of this noble island, and annexed it to the dominion of England.

Reserving to himself the general sovereignty, he left to the little princes of the country their power and authority in their respective districts; and, having planted garrisons in different places, and appointed an administration to govern in his absence, he returned to England in glory and triumph.

For upwards of three hundred years, from this period, the affairs of Ireland remained nearly on the same footing. The natives seemed to pay little more than a nominal obedience to the crown, and the king's lieutenant, who was usually an Irish lord of English blood, was more immediately the governor of an English colony, for whose regulation and service he called parliaments and passed laws, whilst the old inhabitants continued distinct from the pale (as the English settlements were called) and sent no representatives to those parliaments, but were principally governed by their own laws and ancient customs.

The kings of England were so engaged in foreign or civil wars, that they could not give that attention to Ireland

* Tam subjectionis vinculo quam fidelitatis sacramentò regi Anglorum se sponte submisserunt.—*Girald Cambrens.*

which so important an object required; but, when the contest between York and Lancaster was decided, and the victorious Henry the Seventh was peaceably established on the throne, that wise and politic prince turned his eyes towards Ireland, inquired minutely into the state and circumstances of it, discovered the mistakes of his predecessors, and immediately determined to repair them: for this purpose he sent over to Ireland Sir-Edward Poynings, as lord deputy, with instructions to assemble a parliament.

Before this time, the mode of parliamentary procedure was vague, partial, and often injurious to both nations. The chief governor had the power of calling parliaments and of passing laws *rege inconsulto*, without their undergoing any revision in England; but very great inconveniences having arisen, and still greater dangers being apprehended, from such unlimited authority in the chief governor, a law was passed by which it was enacted,

1st. That before any parliament could be summoned or held in Ireland, the chief governor and council should certify to the king, under the great seal of Ireland, the considerations and reasons thereof, and the articles of the acts proposed to be passed therein.

2dly. That after the king, in his council of England, shall have considered, approved, or altered the said acts, or any of them, and certified them back, under the great seal of England, and shall have given licence to summon

and hold a parliament, then the same shall be summoned and held, and the said acts so certified and no other shall be proposed, received, or rejected.

This statute was afterwards explained and amended in the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, and permission was given to certify new propositions to England, in the usual form, even after the summons, and during the session of parliament.

From hence arose the progress and practice of the present mode of parliamentary proceedings in Ireland.

There was another law passed in the administration of Poynings, by which all English statutes, then subsisting, were made effectual in Ireland.

Thus the constitution took a more stable form, a better intercourse was introduced between the sovereign and his people, and the different views of the two nations were reconciled, by an act which precluded all hasty determination upon their mutual or particular interests.

repre

During the reign of the great Elizabeth, several of her best statesmen and warriors were employed in the government of Ireland; Sussex, Sidney, Grey, Perrot, Essex, and Mountjoy, held the sword at different times, and many of them distinguished their administration by their talents and success. Under the last, the long and doubtful war with Tyrone was

finally concluded, and that dangerous rebel compelled to surrender at discretion.

King James the First now succeeded to the throne, and things wearing a peaceful aspect, it was thought a fit season for such improvements in civil policy, as the state and circumstances of Ireland seemed to require.

The conduct and arrangement of these great objects fell to the hands of a man, who so faithfully and ably performed his duty, that it may not be improper to say a few words in particular upon this subject.

Sir Arthur Chichester was the younger son of a gentleman's family in Devonshire.—In the early part of his life he had been led into many vicious excesses, some of which were of so criminal a nature, as obliged him to fly from his country, and to take refuge in France: in that kingdom he learned the profession of arms under Henry the Fourth, and soon proved himself a scholar worthy of so great a master.

Being considered as a proper person to be employed in Ireland, he was pardoned and sent over to that kingdom; where, by his valour and abilities, he at length arrived to the dignity of Lord Deputy: his services always preceding his advancement. By passing through the inferior employments, he had qualified himself to fill the greatest: unlike the geniuses of later days, who, without study or experience, are supposed to be inspired with every requisite for the highest office, at the instant of their appointment.

Under his administration the whole kingdom was reduced into shire ground, and every county admitted a sheriff of the nomination of the crown. The great plantation of Ulster was formed, regular circuits were established, and the king's judges were sent to dispense justice, even in the most distant and barbarous provinces.

Thus the whole civil government was settled and modelled on a plan as nearly resembling the constitution of England as the circumstances of the respective countries would admit, and finally, to give additional strength and permanency to the rising state, this great man called a parliament, in which the House of Commons was formed of a general representation from every part of the kingdom, instead of being confined as before to the counties and boroughs of the pale.

In this parliament an act of general pardon was passed. The laws which prohibited the bringing in of Scots, retaining and marrying with them, as also the laws against the English marrying with the Irish, were totally repealed, and the whole people of Ireland equally received into the king's protection. Here seemed to be destroyed all invidious distinction between the Irish and English, between the pale and the other districts. The little chieftainries were abolished, the old inhabitants and new settlers began to melt together, and the whole kingdom formed one common state. Having accomplished these important points, having introduced and established civilization, good order, and regular government, in the place of barbarism, tumult, and anarchy, Clive re-

paired to England, to receive from his sovereign those honors and rewards which such services had merited.

The administration of his successors, St. John and Falkland, furnished no occurrences worthy of historical attention.

In 1633, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was appointed to the government, which he conducted with uncommon ability: it is true he carried his authority higher than any of his predecessors, and even proceeded to certain lengths which, at this day, appear to be criminal; yet we must not rashly measure them by our ideas of the present time; we should consider that the constitution did not rest on the equal foundation that now supports it; that the royal prerogative was then much more extensive, and that the factious conduct of the great men in Ireland rendered the severe execution of that prerogative, not only expedient, but perhaps absolutely necessary.

It is so much the disposition of the English nation to overrate the merits of pretended patriots, and to exaggerate the errors of great ministers, that we must read our history with infinite caution, and never form our judgment of public characters, but on the most rigid and impartial examination. Whatever may be objected to the manner of Lord Strafford's government, his government itself proved happy and advantageous to Ireland; the public debts were discharged, and the public revenue considerably improved; the army was well paid and well disciplined; the navigation and com-

merce of the nation were extended and enlarged ; and the genius and industry of the people properly directed and usefully employed. To the Earl of Strafford is Ireland indebted for the establishment of the linen manufacture, which is now the staple of her commerce ; and, had that noble person's administration fallen in happier times, he probably would have executed his other great designs for her improvement and advantage.

He appears to have possessed a most extraordinary genius, to have been perfect master of the true interest of both nations, a man of undaunted resolution and, in the performance of his duty, equally regardless of danger and reproach. These eminent talents were too soon rendered fruitless and unavailing by the civil distractions which then broke out, and which his blood was vainly and inhumanly shed to appease.

To the firmness and wisdom of his government succeeded the weakness and timidity of Parsons and Borlace. The Irish Rebellion burst forth like a volcano that had been long silent, and now blazed with redoubled fury. We must not, however, adopt the strange and improbable tales with which most histories of this period are burthened ; there is no doubt that many horrid cruelties were practised by the Papists and Protestants * against one another, and that a very con-

* In Sir William Cole's letter mentioning his services against the Irish, there is the following item, " Seized and furnished of the vulgar sort, whose goods were seized by my regiment, 7000."

siderable number of both perished in the conflict * ; but the accounts are highly exaggerated, and particularly those which are written on our side of the question. Upon an impartial and dispassionate inquiry at this distance of time, it is evident that a much greater number of the Irish than of the English were destroyed in this rebellion, and that the different ideas which we have formed on this point are principally to be attributed to political industry and artifice.

The Cromwellian soldiers and Puritan adventurers, who became possessed of the estates of the vanquished rebels, dexterously represented the Irish as the most barbarous of mankind, and unfit to be trusted with either power or property. Their children in infancy greedily imbibed the jealous terrors of their fathers, private interest confirmed the prepossession, and thus Popery was proscribed and persecuted from the united motives of revenge and policy. The enemies also of Charles the First, who by imputing this guilt to him hoped to justify their own, represented him as the author of a rebellion against himself, and industriously and successfully propagated the senseless calumny.

During the interregnum between the King's death and the Restoration, Ireland was entirely subdued under the govern-

* Sir William Petty, who was by no means partial to the Irish, owns that in the 11 years between 1641 and 1652, above half a million of Irish perished by the sword, plague, famine, and hardships. He says "that in the same space of time 112,000 English were destroyed in the same manner in Ireland." So that five times as many Irish as English perished in that rebellion.

ment of the reigning powers of England, and, in the time of the protectorate, sent representatives to Cromwell's parliament at Westminster.

At the Restoration, a parliament being assembled in Ireland, a new settlement of the country took place, and on that settlement is founded, in a great measure, the remaining power of the crown in Ireland. Most of the lands forfeited by the Irish had been granted to the English officers and soldiers, who contributed to crush the rebellion, and were still in their possession. As these lands indisputably belonged to the crown at common law, and were now in the hands of persons who had few pretensions to favor, it was natural to suppose that the King would resume them, and had he done so, they must have produced a prodigious revenue; but he acted a more disinterested part, and consented to pass the famous acts of settlement and explanation. By these laws the King, in a great measure, resigned his right to the forfeitures*; and, as a compensation for this generous procedure, and some other concessions, the new hereditary revenue was settled for ever on the crown.

This great event passed in the administration of the Duke of Ormond, a man to whom both England and Ireland are so signally indebted, that it is with pleasure I dwell on his character. He was sprung from the noblest blood, and inherited the largest estate in the kingdom; which, together with his honors, he cheerfully resigned, and sacrificed in

* He also consented to the abolishing of the court of wards and liveries.

defence of the crown ; valiant, generous, open, disinterested, and sincere, he at all times and in all circumstances preserved his loyalty spotless, untainted, and entire. Whenever consulted, he delivered his true sentiments, as was his duty ; but he esteemed it equally his duty to act contrary to those sentiments, in obedience to the just commands of his sovereign, being determined (as he expressed himself) to serve his royal master on any terms, and in any station. Equally ready to accept or to resign office, as best suited his prince's service, he never permitted discontent or ill-humour to intrude on his temper or to influence his conduct ; even when smarting under the unmerited neglect of the Court, he appeared silent, equal, and resigned ; whilst others, loaden with the favors of the crown, flung up their employments in anger, and opposed the government of their benefactor with all the violence and rancour of personal animosity and private revenge. In the administration of Ireland he had always one great object in view, the true interest of the prince and the people, and that great object he ever steadily pursued.

A consciousness of his own virtue and abilities rendered him superior to the apprehension of difficulty ; he therefore, in all public business, undertook without hesitation, and executed with spirit and dispatch. Above the common expedients of state, which only answer the necessity of the day, but leave a large debt behind, he walked firmly in the direct path, knowing that good sense, perseverance, and integrity, must at last surmount every obstacle and attain their utmost purpose. In a word, he was the most faithful servant of

his prince, the truest friend of his country, and, in all respects, the greatest man of the age he lived in.

The tranquillity of Ireland being completely restored under Ormond, and every necessary provision ascertained for the public service, no new occasion offered for assembling a parliament during the remainder of this reign. The hereditary revenue was not only sufficient for all the civil and military charges of the kingdom, but for some time furnished a considerable surplus, which was annually remitted to the king. It was indeed reasonable for his majesty to expect it, as he had entirely given up what by law was his own property, in exchange for a revenue, which was to supply not only his private occasions, but to support every public expence: and indeed it would always have been fully sufficient for these purposes, if it had been preserved inviolate, and been managed with proper care and attention; but the great men of Ireland saw that they should be of little importance as long as the crown was rich, and that their value only rose in proportion to the necessities of their prince; they therefore readily combined to create artificial wants, which soon became real ones; and thus, for above fourscore years past, the hereditary revenue has been esteemed as insufficient to support the establishments.

I pass over the short and unhappy reign of James the Second, and proceed to the great revolution in 1688, from which noble source are derived all our present blessings; the security of our laws and religion, and the succession of the crown in his Majesty's illustrious house.

In the year 1692, King William appointed Lord Sidney chief governor of Ireland, and sent him over to hold a parliament in that kingdom, where public affairs had fallen into great disorder during the late troubles. As the proceedings of this parliament were unusual, and as they have been partly imitated in a recent instance, I shall here give a short but circumstantial account of them.

This parliament, under Sidney, was summoned in the usual manner, on the principles of Poynings' law. Several certified bills were transmitted to England, and returned under the great seal of England to Ireland. Two of these bills were bills of supply: the House of Commons passed one of these bills, and rejected the other. Before the first reading of the bill which they passed, they came to the following resolutions, viz. 1st. That it was, and is, the undoubted right of the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, to prepare the ways and means of raising money. 2d. That it was, and is, the sole and undoubted right of the Commons to prepare heads of a bill for raising money. 3d. That, notwithstanding the aforesaid rights of the Commons, they think fit, in consideration of the present exigencies of affairs, and the public necessity of speedily raising a supply for their Majesties, to order a bill, transmitted out of England, intituled "An Act for an additional Excise, &c." to be read, but that it should not be drawn into precedent: it was accordingly read, and soon afterwards passed into a law. On the day following, a motion was made, and the question passed, that a bill now on the table, intituled "An Act for granting to their Majesties certain duties for one year,"

should be read. It passed in the negative; and it was then resolved, that the said bill should be rejected, and that it be entered on the Journals of the House, that the reason why the said bill was rejected was, that the same had not its rise in this House.

Thus, of two bills of the same nature, one was *passed*, though it did not take its rise in that House, and the other was *rejected*, because it did not take its rise there.

In this session four bills only received the royal assent, and not one of these bills, nor the heads of them, had been prepared in the Irish parliament, but were privy-council bills, certified, and transmitted to England, and returned from thence.

As Lord Sidney considered the constitution to be invaded by the above-mentioned votes of the House of Commons, he thought it his duty, at the conclusion of the session, to take particular notice of their proceedings, and to enter his protest against them.

After Lord Sidney had prorogued this parliament, which was never allowed to sit again, his excellency and the privy council directed the judges of Ireland to take into consideration the act of the 10th of Henry the Seventh, commonly called Poyning's law, and the act of the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary, and the other acts relative to the holding of parliaments and passing of bills in the kingdom of Ireland. The report of the judges thereupon is as follows:—1st. That it is not

the sole and undoubted right of the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, to prepare heads of bills for raising money. 2dly. That the chief governor and council may prepare bills for raising money, and may certify and transmit the same to their majesties and the council of England, to be returned under the great seal of England, and afterwards sent to the Commons, although the heads of such bills have not their first rise in the House of Commons.—The twelve judges of England delivered the same opinion; and it seemed that the rashness and inconsequence of the House of Commons were admitted and acknowledged in the ensuing parliament, held in 1695, under Henry Lord Capel, who succeeded Lord Sidney in the government.

On the 29th of August, the Commons, as was ever the usage, gave the first reading to a transmitted bill, to establish a legal cause for their assembling.—The chief governor in his speech had acquainted the House, that his majesty had transmitted a money-bill, intitled “A Bill for an additional Excise.” This money-bill was presented to the House on the second of September, and received the first reading, was committed, reported, and engrossed, *nemine contradicente*. On the 6th it was read a third time, was passed, and sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. Here is a full recognition of Poyning’s law, by the unanimous proceedings of the House of Commons; for their proceedings were strictly conformable to the law of Poyning’s, in the very first parliament held after that law may be said to have received a parliamentary censure.—The practice of passing transmitted money-bills

continued uniformly from that period to the session of 1769, being a space of near fourscore years.

At the commencement of the new parliaments, in 1703, 1713, 1715, 1727, and 1761, a transmitted bill of some sort was always immediately read, in order to validate the existence of a parliament under Poynings' law, and a transmitted money-bill was always read, and passed in a short time after.—I have been the more particular in the recital of these proceedings, that a better judgment may be formed of the true state of this question, which in general is but little understood.

In the remaining part of King William's reign, few things occur in Ireland that merit particular mention. I must not however omit, that in this parliament, held under Lord Capel, heads of a bill of rights were sent up to the lord deputy to be transmitted to Great Britain in due form, but were never returned. In this parliament also the sum of 120,000*l.* towards the supply was raised by a land tax, applotted, and levied in the same manner as cesses for county charges are, by presentment of grand juries. No land-tax has been since revived in Ireland.—From that period to the present time parliaments have been regularly held in Ireland, usually once in two years, and in every session supplies have been granted to make up the deficiencies of the hereditary revenue, which, as I have mentioned above, was become inadequate to the public charge.

In the reign of Queen Anne, a law was passed for lodging the army in barracks, by which it was enacted, that no

troops should be quartered on the inhabitants (as is the practice in England) except in particular cases, such as, when they are on a march, or when they are waiting at a sea-port to embark, or in time of civil commotion. This method of stationing the army in barracks is certainly more regular and more military than that of billeting and dispersing them among the people, and in Ireland it was for many reasons particularly necessary. The establishment of barracks has however been attempted with a most enormous expense; for, under colour of rebuilding or repairing them, prodigious sums of money are daily thrown away:—I say thrown away, because no regular permanent system has yet been pursued. When one chain of barracks has been finished according to a well-considered plan, a new idea, totally different, is perhaps entertained; other barracks must be built, and an extraordinary charge is incurred. No sooner is this scheme established than a third is offered, entirely contrary to the two former; private solicitation is employed, the service of the public yields to the interest of the individual*, and the last project is adopted and executed. Thus expense is perpetually accumulated on expense, barrack demolishes barrack, and the labour to rebuild goes hand in hand with the labour to destroy. Whoever takes the trouble of looking over the barrack accounts will see that there is nothing exaggerated in this representation.

But the most remarkable transaction in Ireland, during the reign of Queen Anne, was the passing what are called

* A man of consequence in Ireland desired to have barracks built on his estate: if he was a friend of the undertakers, it was seldom refused.

the popery laws; laws, which, though equally repugnant to good policy and humanity, have yet remained unrepealed and unmitigated since their first institution.

If they have in any wise undergone alterations and amendments, those alterations and amendments have been only to sharpen their acrimony and invigorate their blows.—As these laws have been represented by many as the true basis of civil liberty and the protestant religion in Ireland, I shall here endeavour to trace their origin, and describe their progress and operation.

In the reign of King James the First, a number of new settlers from England and Scotland arrived in Ireland (which was then mostly popish) and, with a new religion, brought over a new schism, or source of contention with the old inhabitants, many of whom were of English descent, and equally tenacious of their ancient opinions and possessions. The jealousy of the natives impeached the title of the stranger; the stranger encroached on the rights of the native; the first complained of legal injustice, the latter of fraud and violence; contest begot contest, and often litigation sprung from decision. The protestant abhorred the idolatrous papist, and the papist damned the reprobated protestant; the mode of faith now became the motive of enmity, whilst the original ground was forgotten, and the most sacred institution was converted into an instrument of mutual injury and hatred.

The severe government of Strafford contained these animosities within bounds: but no sooner was he removed,

than the old inhabitants broke out into open hostility and rebellion. After a fierce but ineffectual struggle, they were totally subdued, and became obnoxious to almost every calamity which can befall the vanquished.

A new army of new settlers, and mostly of a newer religion, whether Independants, Anabaptists, Socinians, Muggletonians, Brownists, or Millenarians, now obtained large grants of forfeited lands in Ireland; and from these adventurers are descended some of the principal persons of the kingdom in opulence and power. Most of these settlers were men of an untoward republican spirit, and of the sourest leaven, who eagerly adopted the most harsh and oppressive measures against those upon whose ruin they rose. The Restoration had secured to them their property, and the Revolution armed them with power. This power, instead of using it with justice and moderation, they stretched to the utmost rigour, and seemed determined ultimately to crush, if they could not immediately destroy. They did not, however, all at once unmask their design: they proceeded by cautious steps, and in the reign of King William, most of their provisions against popery may be justified on the principles of sound policy: but in the reign of Queen Anne they threw off all reserve, they avowed their intentions, and executed them to the full. For this purpose they passed those acts, which have now for these seventy years past been the established law of the land, and which form the most complete code of persecution that ingenious bigotry ever compiled.

It is but justice to the administration of England to mention, that they did not willingly give their consent to these severe statutes; but not chusing, or not venturing to avow their disapprobation, they cunningly clogged the bills with a clause which they imagined would infallibly occasion them to be rejected. This clause, which introduced the sacramental test as a necessary qualification of office and employment, could not be very palatable to an assembly, where some of the principal leaders were Covenanters and Presbyterians. But these leaders, on this occasion, in their severity to the scruples of others, forgot their own, and conscience was suffered to sleep whilst persecution raged.

The bills were passed, and the edict against popery, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, was never to be changed; but the Test Clause relative to the dissenters, it was hoped, ^{with} it, at a favorable opportunity, either be repealed or evaded.

There is no doubt that both justice and prudence authorize penal laws against papists in a protestant country. The wisdom of every state must secure itself from every danger on every side. During these two centuries past, religion has been considered as an adventitious part in the policy of almost all the governments in Europe, and in some it is so interwoven with the constitution, that the ruin of the one is supposed to involve the destruction of the other. This has long been an established opinion in England, and thence England early and continually guarded against the perils of

popery; but she has done it with dignity, with judgment, and moderation. She looked on popery as on her other foes, whose secret machinations she might apprehend, but whose open assaults she defied.

To the lot of Ireland it has fallen to ingraft absurdity on the wisdom of England, and tyranny on the religion that professes humanity. By her laws against popery, the bonds of society, the ties of nature, and all the charities of kindred and friendship, are torn to pieces; those are allured who could not be compelled; traps are laid for youth and inexperience, and it becomes a maxim of state to encourage the profligate and reward the ungrateful. The concord of brothers is dissolved, the son is armed against the father, and the husband and wife are taught to break through the most sacred and tender attachments, when invited by interest, inconstancy, or libertinism. It is no longer ^{the} Protestant that is to be on his guard against the Papist, but the Papist must be armed at all points, and watch day and night against the legal assaults of his wife, his children, and his kindred. If all their affections are secure, yet his neighbour has an interest to become an informer against him; his sword of defence may wound himself, and the hospitality of his roof may leave him without a roof to shelter him: a bill of discovery may strip him in a moment of all his possessions.

Precluded from offices of public trust or emolument, the Papist is even deprived of the comforts of private life in the

bosom of his family :—his children may be taken from him, and educated at his expense in a profession he dislikes.—If he entertains a popish bishop or regular priest in his house, for their instruction, he is punishable for the first and second offence by pecuniary penalties, and for the third, he forfeits all his goods and chattels, and all his estates of freehold and inheritance during his life.—Popish schools are prohibited in Ireland; and, a Papist bred abroad, incurs the strongest legal disabilities.

If the son of a Papist professes himself a Protestant, which he may do at fourteen years of age, the father's property is instantly altered; his estate in fee simple is converted into a tenure for life, and a third of his whole fortune, real and personal, is taken from him for the immediate use of the conformist. The heir at law of a Papist, if he either ^{is} ~~is~~ becomes a Protestant, defeats every grant or settlement made to his prejudice, and enters into possession as a matter of course.—If the heir at law continues a Papist, the estate gavels among the sons; if there be no sons, among the daughters; and in failure of daughters, among the collaterals. A Papist is not only incapable of purchasing lands of inheritance, but he is incapable of taking a lease for more than thirty-one years; and even under this short tenure, two-thirds of the value must be reserved to the lessor.

A popish mechanic cannot take more than two apprentices; and there are certain towns, in which the law forbids him to inhabit.

No Papist, or trustee for a Papist, can take or receive an annuity for life, or term of years determinable upon lives, or for any estate chargeable on or that may affect lands.

Any Papist of sixteen years old may be summoned by two Justices of the peace, and examined upon oath, when and where he heard mass, who celebrated the same, and who were present at the celebration; and, on refusal to inform, may be sent to the common gaol for twelve months, or pay a penalty of 20 *l.* to the poor of the parish. Any Papist of sixteen years old may be summoned to take the oath of abjuration and, on the third refusal, incurs the penalty of a praemunire.

There is a multitude of other clauses in these popery laws, not less harsh and oppressive; but there is one, and of a very recent date, which will scarcely be credited:—It is actually a fact, that in Ireland a marriage between a Protestant and a Papist is null and void to all intents and purposes, without any process, judgment, or sentence of law whatsoever. Nay, a marriage between two Protestants, if celebrated by a Popish priest, is equally ineffectual. Such have been the recent wisdom and virtue of the Irish legislature, that a husband may abandon his wife, or the wife the husband, after twenty years cohabitation, and their whole race be legally bastardized. Instances of such perjury and dishonor are indeed very rare for, happily, the honest affections of mankind are too strong for the tyranny of such unreasonable statutes.

A remission of many, and an amendment of all, of these laws are now become necessary. For, the dangers of popery being removed, or sufficiently guarded against, the first great principle of government ought to be to make every subject of the state as useful to it as possible. Where this great principle does not prevail, there is a defect of sound policy : now, it is impossible for Papists to become such subjects under their present circumstances, whilst we are perpetually awakening their regret for what they have lost, invalidating their security for what they still preserve, and withholding from them a moderate degree of permanency in what their labour might obtain. It is hardly too much to say, that in Ireland a Papist cannot inherit, acquire, or bequeath, for in all these cases he is liable to be disquieted or defeated.

The laws of Ireland against Papists are the harsh dictates of persecution, not the calm suggestions of reason and policy. They threaten the Papists with penalties in case of foreign education, and yet allow them no education at home. They shut the doors of their own university against them, and forbid them to enter any other. No man shall go to lecture, who will not go to church. A papist shall not be a divine, a physician, a lawyer, or a soldier ; he shall be nothing but a Papist. He cannot be a lawyer, for the law is not his friend ; he cannot be a soldier, and draw his sword for his country, for he is forced to draw it against it : we will not admit him into our own service, and yet denounce vengeance against him if he engages in another. If he becomes a trader or mechanic, he shall scarcely enjoy the rights of a citizen. If a farmer, he shall not cultivate or improve his possessions,

being discouraged by the short limitation of his tenure ; and yet we complain of the dulness and laziness of a people, whose spirit is restrained from exertion, and whose industry has no reward to excite it. This is one great cause why the Irish do not make a more rapid progress in tillage and manufactures. There are others ; but if these were removed, the rest would be less sensibly felt : humanity and policy equally demand it,—The exiled soldier, who now seeks bread in foreign service, will return a loyal subject—the idle peasant will become a laborious husbandman—the slothful tradesman will be changed into a diligent artizan ; and two millions of people will be rendered useful, flourishing, and happy.

I now come to, the reign of King George the First, in the sixth year of which the parliament of Great Britain passed the famous statute * for securing the dependency of Ireland

* The occasion of the statute of the 6th George First, for securing the dependence of Ireland, and taking away the judicature of the Irish House of Peers, was as follows :

Maurice Annesley versus Hester Sherlock.

In 1715 Hester Sherlock appealed to the Lords of Ireland from a decree of the Court of Exchequer, pronounced in 1710, which decree the Lords of Ireland reversed on the 19th June, 1716. From this order of reversal, Maurice Annesley appealed to the House of Lords in Great Britain, insisting that no appeal did lie to the House of Lords in Ireland from any decree of the Exchequer there, but that all appeals from that Court ought to be prosecuted before the Lords of Great Britain, as the only supreme court of judicature. Hester Sherlock, instead of answering this appeal, petitioned the Lords of Ireland, insisting that no proceeding could be had before any Court of judicature, to avoid the judgment and decree of their Lordships. Upon the reading of this petition, all the Irish Lords were summoned to attend on the 23d of September, 1717, when it was proposed by some Lord that the Judges should be asked, whether, by the laws of the land, an ap-

on the crown of Great Britain, for establishing the power of the British Legislature to make laws to bind Ireland, and

peal did lie from a decree of the Exchequer to the Parliament of Great Britain; but this question having passed in the negative, and all the Lay Lords, except Lord Chancellor Middleton, and Lord Doneraile (brother of Sir John St. Leger, then one of the Barons of the Exchequer) being clear with respect to their own jurisdiction, the Sheriff of the county of Kildare was ordered to put Hester Sherlock in possession. Possession was accordingly delivered, pursuant to the decree of the Lords of Ireland. Maurice Annesley having complained to the Lords of Great Britain of these proceedings, it was ordered, that Maurice Annesley should be restored to his possession, and that the Court of Exchequer in Ireland should forthwith cause the possession to be restored. Pursuant to the order of the Lords of Great Britain, the Court of Exchequer directed the Sheriff of the county of Kildare to restore Maurice Annesley to possession. The Sheriff refused to obey the order of the Court of Exchequer, and for his contempt was attached. The Sheriff, on being attached, applied to the Lords of Ireland for relief; who came to several resolutions approving of the conduct of the Sheriff, and condemning that of the Court of Exchequer. Whereupon it was ordered, that the Chief Baron and Barons should be taken into custody by the Black Rod, and that the whole proceedings should be laid before the King. On the 17th October, 1719, an humble representation of the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, to the King was agreed to, and transmitted. The King, on receiving this representation of the Lords, directed it should be laid before the Lords of Great Britain. The Lords of Great Britain entered into several resolutions condemning the proceedings of the Lords of Ireland, and approving of the conduct of the Court of Exchequer, and therefore ordered a bill to be brought in for the better securing the dependency of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain, which passed into a law in the 6th George First.

Vide the State Trials, vol. vi. page 193, for the resolutions of the Lords of Ireland on this occasion.—The case of Annesley and Sherlock was not the first case, in which the English House of Lords declared the Irish House to have no jurisdiction. In King William's reign (in the case of the Bishop of Derry and the Londonderry Society) it was adjudged that the appeal of the Bishop of Derry to the House of Lords of Ireland, from a decree of the Irish Chancery, was *Coram non judice*, and that all the proceedings thereupon were null and void, and if either party was aggrieved by the decree in Ireland, he might pursue his proper remedy

for suppressing the judicature of the Irish House of Peers. However necessary this assertion of superiority appeared to the British Parliament, it was considered by the Irish as an indignity to their nation. It deprived one part of a privilege they had long exercised, and subjected the whole to an authority, which, though they were unwilling to avow, they did not deny. It was wantonness, they said, to arrogate what was not disputed, and an insult to seize what had never been refused. There is no doubt that the right did, and ought to exist in the mother country; but in a controversy of this kind, unless some effectual exertion of the right follows the declaration of it, the declaration had better not be made. It must either become contemptible or insulting. If the first, we lose the power meant to be preserved; if the latter, we are unwise to exasperate, unless determined to enforce or appease.

It was expected that the Irish Parliament would have expressed a lively sense of these proceedings of the British, and have come to some angry resolutions. Nothing however of this kind happened; whether they recollected the Act of Recognition*, or submitted themselves to the pru-

by an appeal to the English House of Lords; but, notwithstanding this, appeals were received by the Irish House of Lords till the 6th George First, as is here mentioned.

* In the 4th of William and Mary, the Act of Recognition of their Majesties undoubted right to the Crown of Ireland was passed by the Irish Parliament; the preamble of which runs thus, "For as much as this kingdom of Ireland is annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of England, and by the laws and statutes of this kingdom is declared to be justly and rightfully dependant upon and belonging and for ever united to the same, &c. &c."

dence and address of their governors, is not easy now to determine; but although they remained silent upon this point, yet they let few opportunities pass of expressing their discontent.

When it is not thought expedient to declare the real cause of political resentment, an imaginary grievance is usually started, and the drag is hunted with as much eagerness as the genuine game. Men, who have been engaged in party, look back with astonishment, like soldiers after a battle, at the dangers they have run, and from impunity and success gather encouragement to repeat their temerity. Did we not every day see the excesses to which faction is capable of driving men, in other respects the most candid and dispassionate, it would scarcely be believed that the most important subject of a most outrageous public clamour, and of a long and painful parliamentary enquiry, was a patent granted by the crown (as had been frequently practised) to a private person, empowering him to coin a certain quantity of copper money for the use of Ireland *. This patent, it must be confessed, was highly exceptionable, but it by no means merited the bustle that was made about it. An earthquake, a pestilence, or a famine would not have occasioned a more general consternation. The Council, the

* It had always been the practice to grant patents to private persons for this purpose, and Ireland had at this time no other copper money but what had been coined by the patentees. The grant to Wood, which was so much complained of, empowered him to coin 108,000*l.* out of 360 tons of copper; but the expressions of the patent were so loose, that there was great room for fraud and chicanery.

Lords, the Commons, the wise and the simple, the rich and the beggar, all, all combined to express their terror of Wood's halfpence, and to deprecate their currency. At length the King, in compliance with a parliamentary address, was graciously pleased to recal the patent : a concession which, however expedient in this instance, like most concessions to popular importunity, was forgotten almost as soon as it was made.

On the accession of King George the Second, in 1727, the additional duties, which are equal to about a third of the hereditary revenue, were granted, nearly such as they now exist ; so that although Great Britain, and every other country in Europe, have since that time undergone various new taxations, yet no new tax for the public service of government has been imposed on Ireland during these fifty years past, except those inconsiderable ones called the Loan Duties, which are not granted, like the rest, in aid of the hereditary revenue, to support the establishments, but are solely appropriated to the payment of the interest, and to the liquidation of the principal of the national debt, the greatest part of which debt was not really contracted for the service of government. There are indeed some other small duties levied, and appropriated for the encouragement of tillage, and of particular branches of trade and manufacture, which for convenience are paid into the hands of the king's officers, but the crown has no other concern in them.

As the modern part of the history of the Irish government becomes every day more interesting, it is necessary that the

narrative should be more full and particular. In former times, the administration was confided by the Lord Lieutenant, during his absence, to such persons as, from his conviction of their talents and integrity, he esteemed worthy of so great a trust. He did not think himself obliged to confine his choice to certain great officers of state, merely because they were such; but considered other circumstances than accidental station, as necessary for this employment; such as knowledge of business, and knowledge of the country, its laws and revenues, integrity and disinterestedness, loyalty, zeal, and activity. But in later times it seems to have been a kind of established rule that the Lord Lieutenant, regarding rank alone, should at his departure leave the government in the hands of the principal persons of the church and the law, together with the Speaker of the House of Commons;—these gentlemen were usually appointed Lords Justices, and in this manner the conduct of Irish affairs continued for the greatest part of the late reign; without any considerable variation.—The Lord Lieutenant came over once in two years, staid a few months, lived in kingly state, provided for his chaplain and secretary, received freedoms, gold boxes, and complimentary addresses, and then hurried back to England with the utmost precipitation.

The Lords Justices, by their connections and influence in the House of Commons, did what was usually termed the King's business in parliament; but which in truth was rather their own, as it enabled them to establish their power, and to domineer without controul in the interior government of the country.—Thus, from their rank in their several departments,

from the power of their deputation, and their own diligence, they became important; the administration in England considered them as necessary, and that nothing could be done in Ireland without them.—The Lord Lieutenant, who had accepted the government as a dignity to swell his titles, not to increase his troubles; to add to his dependants, and not to his business; who from inattention was ignorant, and from indolence unwilling to undergo the laborious duties of his station, committed all public affairs to their entire management. His chief object was to leave matters as he found them; and he esteemed himself happy if, after six or seven months bustle and parade, he met with no insult on quitting Ireland, or censure on arriving in England.

Things remained on this footing till the year 1751, the grand epocha of those party feuds which have disturbed and disgraced the parliamentary proceedings of Ireland ever since. At this period Dr. Stone was at the head of the church, and Mr. Boyle had sat near twenty years in the chair of the House of Commons. The latter was a man of sound understanding, of affable manners joined to a resolute mind: the former was ingenious, supple, and insinuating, of boundless presumption, and insatiable ambition.—Mr. Boyle, from his station, his prudence, and his unshaken attachment to his friends derived his power and maintained it with steadiness and dignity. Dr. Stone aspired to this power, and was eager instantly to seize what his colleague had obtained by perseverance and time.—The Speaker was jealous of the enterprise and address of his young rival; the Primate dreaded the art-

of the old statesman ;—the one could not brook the ecclesiastical politician ; the other determined to overturn the lay dictator :—both employed the usual arms of courtiers, and both busily prepared for the parliamentary campaign.

The Duke of Dorset, now appointed lord lieutenant, had been the primate's first patron, and was naturally inclined to support the work of his own hands. The subtle churchman cultivated this disposition, and improved to the utmost the advantage of his ground. —Affairs now began to wear a different face : the chief governor did not, for he could not, depend on the old system, as the leaders were divided. He was obliged to form a new party ; but, instead of commanding it himself, as he ought to have done, he put the primate at the head of it. Thus, what was intended for the support of government became injurious to it, and served but as an engine to promote the views and to gratify the ambition of Stone.—The dignity and independence of administration were the avowed motives but the personal contest between the speaker and the primate was the real source of national division ; under their banners the whole kingdom seemed to range, and to wait with impatience for the day of decision. An occasion for essaying their strength was not long wanting : the late surveyor-general was made the instrument of trial, and the ruin of an honest and an innocent individual was to be the test of superiority, before any national question was ventured on.—Mr. Boyle was victorious, and the unfortunate Neville was expelled.—Not satisfied with this advantage, the speaker resolved to hazard a contest on the more

momentous subject of the king's prerogative. 'This question, as being weighty in itself, and serious in its consequences, I shall endeavour briefly to explain.

After the conclusion of the peace of Aix la Chapelle, an increase of the trade of Ireland brought so great an augmentation to his majesty's revenue, that, in two years, a very considerable redundancy appeared in the treasury. There can be no question of this redundancy being the property of the crown ; for it arose from the exceedings of the hereditary revenue and of the additional duties, which are granted to the king without any appropriation. These being now much more than sufficient to answer all charges of the establishment and other expences of government, it follows that the surplus, as it is vested in the king, so it must be at his disposal.

The public had contracted a large debt in the late war ; but, for the payment of the interest and discharge of the principal of that debt, certain duties had been granted by parliament, and specially appropriated to that purpose alone. The crown however was willing to employ a share of its treasure towards exonerating the nation and lessening its incumbrance.

Accordingly, in 1749, there being then a balance of 220,000 *l.* and upwards in the vice-treasurer's hands, it was moved in the House of Commons, by the king's attorney-general, that this balance should be applied to discharge a certain portion of the public debt. As the occasion was

new, gentlemen were at a loss to know in what manner the king's consent ought to appear. However, they brought in heads of a bill for the payment of the several principal sums of 70,000 *l.* and 58,000 *l.*, in which, after several recitals relative to the debt, there was this recital: "Whereas there
" is a considerable balance in the vice-treasurer's hands
" unapplied, and it will be for your majesty's service, and
" the case of your faithful subjects of Ireland, that so
" much thereof as can be conveniently spared should be
" paid, agreeably to your majesty's most gracious intentions,
" in discharge of the said debt."—The bill was passed in this form; which contained an acknowledgment of the king's right to determine how much could be spared, and that his gracious intentions on that subject had been communicated to them previous to the drawing up the heads of the bill.

In 1751, the Duke of Dorset, in his speech from the throne at the opening of the session, declared that his majesty would graciously *consent*, and recommended to them, that such part of the money then remaining in the treasury, as should be thought consistent with the public service, be applied towards the reduction of the national debt. This shewed that his majesty considered his previous *consent* as necessary to that application. The Commons, in their answer, thanked the king for his recommendation, and took no notice of his consent. A bill thus framed was sent in the usual manner to Great Britain, which was returned with the insertion of the word *consent*; an assertion plainly in affirmance of what his majesty insisted on in right of his prerogative. The bill, thus altered, passed both houses without an objection or a

single negative, and received the royal assent. If the constant exertion of the royal power over the money in the actual hands of the king's treasurer wanted a formal recognition of right from parliament, that recognition was now given in express terms by their unanimous decision. Here then are two undisputed precedents, the one of 1749, and the other of 1751, for the establishment of the king's prerogative in this instance.

The session of 1753 was opened by the Duke of Dorset, who, in his speech from the throne, repeated exactly the same words of his majesty's consent and recommendation as in the former session. It was answered in just the same manner: the House of Commons omitted echoing back the word *consent*, but expressed their sense of the king's recommendation. In the heads of the bill prepared by them, they were silent on both points, and neither mentioned the king's *consent nor his recommendation*. These omissions were supplied in England, and the bill was returned with the proper insertions, according to the form of the preceding session.

It was on this occasion that Mr. Boyle exerted his whole weight and influence in the House of Commons against the crown, in defiance of all decency, consistency, and gratitude.

The bill was rejected by 112 to 117.—Though the crown was defeated on this point, yet its opponents might say, like Pyrrhus, that such another victory would undo them.

A majority of five is but unsteady footing against government, and must soon be mastered, if properly contended with; and indeed one cannot look back without astonishment on the imprudence of the Irish parliament in this proceeding; for there is no doubt, that at that time such was the opulence of the crown, and the state of its finances so flourishing, that it could have stood on the hereditary revenue alone, without being under any necessity of applying to parliament for additional duties or supplies. But, notwithstanding the rejection of the bill abovementioned, the king was resolved that neither his subjects of Ireland should be deprived of the benefit he intended them, nor his own prerogative be defeated: he therefore sent over his letter for the payment of the remainder of the debt out of the balance then in the treasury; and thus solely, and in his own right, exercised that prerogative, in which he had graciously intended to have permitted the Irish parliament to participate. Before I close this scene, I must take notice of a little piece of craft practised by Mr. Boyle on occasion of the rejected bill. On all other divisions of the house, the numbers appear on the Journals; but the speaker expunged them in this instance, and the entry is simply thus: "Ordered, that the bill be rejected:" that the world might imagine the rejection of the bill was a matter of course, merely from the odiousness of its nature.—Such was the subject, and such the result of the question, in 1753.

In consequence of these extraordinary proceedings, Mr. Boyle was dismissed from his employment of chancellor of the exchequer, and all his adherents, who had offices, were

deprived of them. This spirited conduct on the part of the crown, if it had been persevered in, would undoubtedly have rendered the subsequent government of Ireland both easy and honorable.—Why the Duke of Dorset did not return to Ireland, and why the system then laid down was not effectually pursued, I know not; but I know, that the not pursuing it has been the cause of all the distractions and disturbances in Ireland since that time.

The marquis of Hartington, afterwards duke of Devonshire, was now sent over as lord lieutenant.—He negotiated with all parties, he flattered the opponents of government with hopes of restitution, and to the friends of government he promised every security. Hence the session was tolerably quiet; but certainly his administration was attended with consequences, which are severely felt by the present government. He could not dismiss those from their offices, who had obtained them by their support of government; but he gave better employments to those who had lost theirs by opposing it. Mr. Boyle was not only reinstated in the chancellorship of the exchequer, but was created an earl, and rewarded with a pension of 2000*l.* per annum for 31 years. Mr. Carter was made secretary of state, with an additional salary. Sir Richard Cox obtained a large pension, and the inferior partizans were all provided for, *nemo non donatus abivit*. Thus was purchased this fatal and ignominious peace, which swelled the charge of the establishment to an enormous size. Opposition was lavishly recompensed, and government shewed, that it considered the constant attach-

ment of its friends as less meritorious than the suspicious conversion of its enemies.

As a redundancy in the treasury had occasioned so much discussion and dispute, it seemed now determined that the same cause of contest should never occur again. For this purpose, the house of commons in this session now began to appropriate a considerable part of the additional duties to their own use. This was done under pretence of encouraging public works, such as inland navigations, collieries, and manufactories of different kinds; but the truth is, that most of these public works were private jobs, carried on under the direction, and for the advantage, of some considerable gentlemen in the house of commons. By this means the parliamentary leaders perfectly answered all their views; they gratified their friends, impoverished the treasury, and kept government under a constant necessity of asking supplies. By repeated jobbing, the purpose was effected; and, what is most unaccountable, government seemed to acquiesce in it without complaining. Since that time, it has been the constant practice of the house of commons to load the money-bill with appropriations of this sort, amounting sometimes to near a fourth of the whole supplies.

During this administration, the primate lay under a sort of disgrace, and was left out of the government on the lord lieutenant's departure. His real views had been solely confined to the increase of his own power, and never pointed to support the authority of the crown farther than it answered

that end. Vanquished by his enemies, and rejected by his friends, he for some time suffered all the pangs of baffled ambition; but, though disappointed, he did not despair, and resolved, since the times seemed unfavourable to his measures, to adapt his measures to the times. He saw the difficulty of ruling alone, and thought an equal share of government preferable to a total exclusion; he therefore made overtures of friendship to his old rival, and, by his usual address, accomplished an entire reconciliation.

The Duke of Bedford was appointed lord lieutenant in 1757, and continued in that high office till 1761. From his character and temper it was imagined, that he would maintain the dignity and independence of the king's representative; but I know not how it happened, whether from want of proper support in England, or from want of proper management in Ireland, his grace was, after a short struggle, obliged to follow the example of his predecessors, to return to the old system, and to put himself into the hands of the parliamentary undertakers. But this was not the only mortification he suffered a still greater was preparing for him, and in a short time he found himself under the necessity of complying with the demands of a set of gentlemen, who modestly called themselves *The Patriots*. The patriots were men of moderate fortunes, of a middle rank in life, but of great ambition and considerable abilities. They could not brook the superiority affected by the undertakers, and were therefore determined either to bring them down to their own level, or to raise themselves to the same degree of consequence. Whenever government quarrelled with the under-

takers, the patriots were ready to support it; but, as government, after making use of them, had constantly left them in the lurch, and returned to the undertakers, the patriots became irreconcilable to both. They soon found an occasion of taking an ample revenge, and extorted a concession from the duke of Bedford, which, if not recovered, must at last destroy the great engine of kingly government in Ireland.

I have before observed, that the hereditary revenue was granted to the crown for ever, and that, if properly conducted, it might alone be rendered sufficient to answer all the necessary charges of the state. This was well understood both by the patriots and the undertakers. The former, therefore, took every opportunity of diminishing this revenue, and the latter had the treachery, if not to assist, to acquiesce in their doing so. Of this a very strong instance was now given, in a bill passed for granting a bounty on all corn and flour brought to Dublin by land carriage*.

The duke Bedford offered at first to grant this bounty for a term of years; but nothing would satisfy the patriots but a perpetuity, and thus the act passed without any limitation†. They promised indeed to create a fund for the

* The bill has been altered and amended by subsequent statutes, the effect of all which has been to increase the charge.

† A lord lieutenant may sometimes think it necessary seemingly to approve and acquiesce in what is desired, and the administration in England have often authorized him to do so, and taken the unpopularity of refusal on themselves. How it happened that they consented to this perpetual burthen on the revenue is totally unaccountable.

payment of this bounty, but, though often reminded, never kept their word. The consequence of this law has been, that the money paid out of the revenue on account of land carriage of corn and flour, now amounts to 50,000*l.* per annum, and there is no doubt but it will amount to double that sum in a good wheat season. Thus a prodigious charge is for ever entailed upon the revenue, which charge must be answered at all events, and in the first instance, in preference to most others; for by the act this bounty is made payable, not out of the revenue in the treasury, but out of the revenue *in transitu* in the hands of the collector of Dublin port, as he receives it, before he accounts with the treasury: so that if any state emergency were to happen, if an enemy were at the gates, the corn bounty must be first paid, though there may perhaps not be money in the treasury sufficient to set a battalion in motion. And here I must observe, that, besides the bounty on corn and flour, there have been several others, settled at different times by act of parliament in the same exceptionable manner, a particular account of which shall be given in the chapter of revenue.

It may not be improper in this place to take notice of an innovation introduced in favour of Mr. Ponsonby, who was now speaker of the house of commons, and was beginning to aspire to popularity and power.

In the money bill of 1759, 500*l.* was for the first time granted to the speaker, to enable him to maintain the state and dignity of his office, as is expressed in the bill. To shew how dangerous it is to yield to any thing, however

trifling, out of the ordinary channel, it must be remarked, that afterwards, in 1761, this allowance of 500*l.* was augmented to 2000*l.*, and in the session of 1765 this 2000*l.* was doubled ; so that at present the speaker has 4000*l.* constantly given him in the money-bill, as a matter of course, besides the old allowance of 500*l.* each session, and the emoluments of the office, which are 500*l.*; and these emoluments were all that his predecessors had, and were esteemed fully sufficient*.

Soon after the accession of his present majesty, a money-bill was certified in the usual manner, and transmitted to England, as a cause and consideration, among others, for calling a new parliament. There had been a strong debate in the privy-council on the propriety of this measure : it was urged by some, that since the Revolution no parliament had ever been called in Ireland, without the previous certification

* *Note.* I cannot avoid mentioning a little incident that occurred in the duke of Bedford's administration, to shew the spirit and humour of the times. An idle report was industriously propagated, that an union with Great Britain was seriously intended, and of course that the city of Dublin would be totally ruined. The mob-phrase of the day was, that the parliament-house was to be carried over to London. A vast concourse of disorderly persons of the lower sort, but abetted and encouraged by some gentlemen of note, assembled on this occasion in College Green. They threatened, insulted, and abused several members of both houses, and compelled many of them to take a solemn obligation never to consent to an union. Among others, they made the chief justice of the king's bench submit to it. They forced him to administer an oath of this kind to the attorney-general, and then jocularly told the latter, that he must allow himself to be *legally* sworn. At length, after many extravagancies, they broke into the house of commons, placed an old woman in the speaker's chair, and immediately entered into debate on the propriety of introducing pipes and tobacco. This ludicrous tumult lasted for some hours, and was at last only dispersed by the appearance of the military.

and transmission of a money-bill to England: that it was looked upon by the British administration as a necessary form, and that it could not be departed from. On the other hand, the primate, lord Shannon, and Mr. Ponsonby, now lords justices, at first refused to certify a money-bill, alleging that other bills of a different nature were sufficient causes for the assembling of a parliament. As the house of commons had always looked with jealousy on this origination of a money-bill in the privy-council, the lords justices imagined that their refusal to certify one, on this occasion, would increase their own consequence and popularity. They thought, if they succeeded, it would prove, that by their influence and advice the English ministry had been prevailed on to recede from this important point, and at the same time it would shew their own tenderness for the privileges of the people, by not interfering with them in the right of granting money. Mr. Malone, then chancellor of the exchequer, adopted their ideas, but the earl of Kildare loudly declared for a money-bill. Several letters passed on the subject between England and Ireland, the consequence of which was, that the lords justices thought it prudent to submit, and to certify a money-bill in the usual manner; which on its return passed both houses by a prodigious majority. Lord Kildare was rewarded with a marquissate for his support, and Mr. Malone was dismissed for his opposition.

The earl of Halifax was now appointed lord lieutenant, whose government being strongly supported in England was easy to himself, and honourable to his sovereign. The undertakers having experienced the firmness of the crown in the in-

stance of the money-bill, and well knowing that firmness in the crown must baffle them in every other, were afraid to take any steps which might occasion complaint. They therefore lived on good terms with lord Halifax, assisted him in carrying on the public business, and were left in the government at his departure.

He was succeeded by the Duke of Northumberland, during whose splendid and princely administration, affairs were conducted with dignity and regularity, and without any considerable opposition. Lord Shannon was grown old and fond of repose; the primate was desirous of entering into the strictest union with the duke of Northumberland; and Mr. Ponsonby still remained in some degree under the influence of the primate. I must, however, remark, that a bounty for encouraging the fishery was now granted, and made payable like the corn premiums, out of the revenue *in transitu*. It was not indeed, like the corn premiums, made perpetual, it was limited to six years, but was extended to fourteen in the ensuing session. The amount of it at present is upwards of 11,000*l.* per annum; and is likely to increase.

In the latter end of the year 1764, the primate and lord Shannon, who had from the time of their reconciliation wisely drawn together in the government, died within a few days of each other. The fortune and following of lord Shannon descended to his son, who had married Mr. Ponsonby's eldest daughter. This young nobleman and his father-in-law aimed at the power and importance of their predecessors, and flattered themselves that their united weight would not only overpower

every other party in the kingdom, but be too strong for government itself. In the administration of lord Hertford, they, on more than one occasion, betrayed their intentions; but the lord lieutenant's firmness and address kept things from coming to a rupture during his residence. The most material occurrence of the session was an attempt of Mr. Pery's, in the house of commons, which I cannot avoid taking particular notice of, as it occasioned much discourse, and was in itself of an extraordinary nature. In the reign of king James the First, in my lord Chichester's government, the speaker of the house of commons, on the last day of the session, November the 29th, 1614, delivered a note or remembrance to the lord deputy, containing, among others, the following paragraph :

“ The house of commons, acknowledging that the sole power
“ and authority to transmit such bills as are to be propounded
“ in parliament doth rest in the lord deputy and council,
“ do only desire to be as remembrancers unto his lordship
“ and the rest, touching the acts following, which they
“ humbly offer, as meet to be transmitted with such other
“ acts as his lordship, &c. shall think fit to be propounded in
“ the next session.”

This paragraph, which contains a very short and plain acknowledgment of the law and practice, as settled by Poyning's act, Mr. Pery moved to have expunged out of the Journals: the motion was made so suddenly, and so artfully, that the speaker, Mr. Ponsonby, had not presence of mind

sufficient to defeat or restrain it; so a resolution passed for the expunging, and appeared the next day in the printed votes; but soon after the speaker having been in consultation at the Castle, and being informed of the dangerous tendency of Mr. Pery's motion, with great difficulty got the whole proceeding annulled, and the entry on the votes to be declared an error of the clerk.

The ordnance of Ireland was now vacant by the resignation of the marquis of Kildare, and the world expected that it would be given to lord Drogheda, a nobleman of good character, who had served upwards of twenty years in the army, was entirely disposed to support government, and had lately married the lord lieutenant's daughter; however, on this occasion, his excellency preferred the interests of the crown to those of his own family, and, hoping to attach lord Shannon to the service of his administration, recommended him to his majesty for this great employment, and obtained it for him. Lord Hertford, at his departure from Ireland, left the chancellor and speaker in the government, together with the earl of Drogheda, who was thus compensated for his loss of the ordnance.

On the great change of the English ministry in 1766, the earl of Bristol was appointed chief governor; a new system of government was said to be now adopted: Ireland was no more to be left to the discretion of the undertakers; the lord lieutenant was for the future constantly to reside, and hold the reins of government in his own hands.

The people, ever fond of novelty, were rejoiced beyond measure at the happy tidings; individuals were no less delighted: those who had been long in leading-strings, but had never been led to what they looked for, felt new hopes rise in their bosoms, and flattered themselves that the day of enfranchisement was come; golden visions of profit and of honor opened on the eyes of every patriot; he who had disdained the thralldom of an undertaker, was ready to wear the livery of a resident viceroy, and the most inveterate republican became a convert to the new theory of government; all was rapture and reformation: the return of Astrea was hourly expected, and the kingdom of Saturn was supposed to be at hand.

The undertakers, against whose usurpation this scheme of residence was levelled, immediately took the alarm, and strenuously used all their endeavours to defeat it. They knew indeed that opposition, if steadily resisted, must soon moulder into insignificance; but they flattered themselves that no lord lieutenant would long persevere in the new plan. If he should, they were resolved to omit nothing on their part to make his situation as uneasy, and as unpleasant to him as possible.

The season now approached for the usual assembling of the Irish parliament, and (the earl of Bristol having resigned the government) lord Townshend was appointed to succeed him.

The principal events of his administration I shall endeavour to comprehend in as small a compass as I can.

The bill for granting a bounty on corn and flour brought to Dublin by land carriage, as mentioned in the duke of Bedford's administration, was a concession so important and so unexpected, that the patriots were from thence encouraged to make still greater demands. They imagined that government having once yielded in a point so prejudicial to its own interest, might as easily be persuaded to pass any other laws which they should choose to propose.

Their principal aim was to load the hereditary revenue either with perpetual charges, or with charges for long terms of years. By this means their own consequence would be enhanced, and the authority and revenue of the crown greatly weakened and impaired. To accomplish these views, they laid their designs with uncommon art and address, and the measures most destructive to government they often contrived to make appear as the measures of government itself, not as measures adopted in compliance with popular importunity, but as measures flowing spontaneously either from the king's goodness or the viceroy's representation and influence. Immediately on the appointment of a new lord lieutenant, they employed some emissary, who, under the mask of friendship and good wishes, insinuated that the best method to secure an easy and honorable government in Ireland, would be to open the session with some popular act or declaration; the real meaning of which was either some innovation in the established constitution, or some encroachment on the revenue. For this purpose various schemes were offered, and the utility and necessity of pursuing them were painted in the most seducing colours. One day a bounty on fish, fishing busses, and whale-catching, was desired; the

establishment of county hospitals and public coal-yards, was another day mentioned ; a septennial bill, a judges bill, a habeas-corpus bill, premiums for corn preserved upon stands, and for corn brought to Dublin coastways, were all asked in their turns: nay, what will scarcely be believed, a proposal was seriously made, that the *land carriage* bounty should be paid for all corn and flour brought to Dublin *by the new canal*.—And such was the success of these representations, that many of the demands abovementioned were in a great measure complied with. .

The immense charge incurred by them may be seen in the public accounts, where they stand as incontrovertible evidence of their own exorbitance and impropriety.

A lord lieutenant new in his government, perhaps new in business of any kind, unacquainted with the people and constitution of Ireland, and desirous of carrying on his administration with popularity and good-humour, probably at first did not apprehend any danger or inconveniency from adopting these schemes:—he perhaps seemed to approve them, and his seeming approbation was immediately sworn into a positive promise, the performance of which he was afterwards either soothed or frightened into, according to the features of his character and the circumstances of the times.

In Lord Hertford's government, heads of a bill were brought into the house of commons to make the judges

commissions to continue *quandiu se bene gesserint*. The administration in England, apprehending that such a law would tend to create a kind of *imperium in imperio*, refused at that time to consent to it in any shape;—they were, however, afterwards of opinion, that it might be granted under certain restrictions. Accordingly, lord Townshend, at the opening of the next session, recommended it in his speech from the throne. The bill was transmitted to England, and returned to Ireland with several alterations; but, as these alterations seemed to defeat the insidious intentions of the gentlemen who had framed the bill, it was rejected without a division. The same spirit of innovation, which had clamoured for the judges bill, still prevailed, and was equally loud and eager for a law to limit the duration of parliaments. How far it was politic to consent to it is not now material; the bill passed and, during four and twenty hours, the lord lieutenant was the most popular man in the kingdom. The undertakers, who never imagined that the crown would have consented to lessen its prerogative in this point, without some equivalent, and who had framed their schemes and connections according to the then subsisting parliament, were highly enraged to find themselves so mistaken.

As the bill was popular, they had never ventured to oppose it whilst in agitation, and now that it was passed, they pretended to approve of it; but they never forgave the measure, and from that moment acted in open hostility to government.

This was not, however, the only cause of their ill-humour: not contented with the power and employments which they enjoyed, they had early in the session made some very unreasonable demands upon government. One gentleman was only to be satisfied with half a dozen peerages for his friends, another preferred some great reversion for himself; those who had not pensions, wished to have them; those who had pensions, desired 'an addition;' and almost all who were already in good employments, agreed in asking for better ones. Lord Townshend's hesitation to comply with these extraordinary requisitions was highly resented. Thus these gentlemen, instead of being grateful for past favours, were enraged at the refusal of new ones; turned the power of the crown, intrusted to their hands, against the crown itself; and endeavoured to extort, by faction and opposition, what was meant to be the reward of loyalty and service.

His majesty, ever watchful for the security and happiness of his people, had now adopted a new model for his army, by which not only the service in general was greatly improved, but his subjects of Ireland were to be particularly benefitted. The battalions on the British establishment then consisted of 529 men each; the battalions on the Irish establishment consisted of 328 men each; so that, in consequence of this disproportion, whenever an Irish regiment was ordered abroad, it became necessary before it left Ireland to complete it to the British numbers. This was usually done, by drafting from the other corps as many men as were wanted for that purpose; by which

means the Irish army was torn to pieces, the officer and soldier were dispirited, and the service considerably suffered.

To remedy this inconvenience it was proposed, by lessening the numbers on the English establishment, and by increasing the numbers on the Irish, to put all the battalions on the same footing. The Irish establishment, then consisting of 12,000 men only, was to be augmented to 15,235; instead of 30 battalions of infantry, there were to be but 27, and, of these 27, five were in their turn to be always employed on foreign service; but the remaining 22 battalions, which, together with the cavalry, would amount to 12,000 men, were to remain in Ireland for its defence and protection against foreign and domestic enemies, the latter of which have sometimes been found not the least formidable of the two. Part of the plan also was to establish a regular rotation of the infantry in such a manner, that every regiment should take an equal share of the service, relieving and being relieved, in their respective stations, through every part of the king's extensive dominions.

Formerly, when an addition to the Irish army was thought necessary, the usual method was for the crown first to make the addition, and then to apply to parliament for supplies to support it. It was in this manner that several new levies were made in the last war, during the administration of the duke of Devonshire, the duke of Bedford, and lord Halifax.

But, as the augmentation now proposed was to be made in time of peace, it was thought the best and most popular method of opening the scheme would be by an address of the house of commons, expressing their desire, that his majesty would please to make the augmentation, and promising on their parts to provide for it. On this occasion, the undertakers, and many of the principal servants of government, voted against the address, and for that time defeated the king's intentions. However, the utility and necessity of the measure were so evident to the whole nation, that, in the ensuing session, it was adopted, and carried into execution by an act of parliament.

In pursuance of a clause in the octennial law, the parliament of Ireland was dissolved in the summer of 1768, and certain bills were framed in council, and transmitted to England in the accustomed manner, as causes and considerations for calling a new parliament. Among these bills, conformably to constant usage, was a money-bill; which, with the others, was returned from England under the great seal of England. This money-bill was read in the house of commons on the 21st of November, 1769. The question being put for reading it a second time, it passed in the negative. The question was then put for rejecting it, and carried by 94 to 71. The house, not content with having proceeded thus far, followed their blow, and resolved, *that this bill is rejected, because it did not take its rise in this house.*

It is whimsical to observe, that Mr. Malone presented this money-bill, spoke and voted for it: that the duke of

Leinster's friends, to a man, voted to reject it; and that air the strength of Mr. Ponsonby and lord Shannon was mustered against government on this occasion.—And here I must beg leave to make a few observations on this most extraordinary proceeding. It stands thus:—the Commons resolved “*That this bill is rejected, because it did not take its rise in this house.*”

This resolution does not mention where the bill took its rise, but barely that it did not take its rise in the house of commons, and for that reason only was rejected.—We very well know where it took its rise; that it was in the privy-council; that it was certified to England under the great seal of Ireland, and returned back under the great seal of England. These were forms prescribed by Poyning's law, the great palladium of the Irish constitution, and were essentially necessary to be gone through before a parliament could be called.—Suppose now that the commons of Ireland had been more explicit in their votes, and declared that the bill was rejected, because it was certified to England under the great seal of Ireland, or was returned to Ireland under the great seal of England, or both, would they have more effectually invalidated Poyning's law, than by the reason which they assigned? If the bill ought to have taken its rise in the house of commons only, then Poyning's law is nugatory, and such indeed the resolution virtually declares it.—The house had before them the example of 1692: they followed it, in rejecting the bill because it did not take its rise in their house; but they did not follow it farther, for they did not resolve, as the house in 1692 did, that the sole

right of preparing heads of money-bills was in the commons. The proceeding then in 1769 is so far lame and inconsistent ; for there was no ground to reject a bill, *because* it did not take its rise in the house of commons, until the fact was established that *it ought* to take its rise there, and no where else. The house of commons of 1692 acted unconstitutionally consistent ; they boldly claimed a sole and exclusive right, then acted as if the claim was just, and consequently rejected the bill. The house of commons of 1769 claimed no sole and exclusive right, but rejected the bill, and assigned a reason that could not be sustained. There is a sort of inaccuracy too in the wording of their resolution ; they say, that *they reject the bill, because it did not take its rise, &c.* It should have been expressed, *because the heads of the bill* did not take their rise, &c. for no bill of this kind could take its rise in either house.—But, to return ; if they were not conscious that they had a sole right, why reject a bill which did not invade their rights ? If conscious that they had the sole right, why did they not assert it ?——No ; they knew it to be unconstitutional ground ; they knew that the sole right was a prejudicated question ; they therefore adopted the more vague and disputable terms of the bill's not taking its rise in their house, and built their proceedings on that basis alone.

The lord lieutenant, following the example of lord Sidney, and in obedience to his majesty's orders, entered his protest against the vote of the house of commons, and ended the session by a sudden prorogation. The parliament of 1692 was prorogued, and then dissolved. The parliament of 1769

was prorogued but not dissolved; for the latter only attempted to weaken the efficacy of the law, but the former hardly claimed a right contrary to the law. Whenever a resolution of either house of parliament tends to bar or invalidate the operation of an act of parliament, it is necessary to oppose it in the most effectual manner; nothing can be more dangerous than the smallest encroachment. The great principle of our liberty is, that the laws can only be repealed by the same power which enacted them, and that a vote of the lords or commons can no more affect the law than a mandate of the crown. If it did, the balance of the constitution would be totally destroyed; it would in fact be a dispensing power, and be equally tyrannical by whomsoever it was exercised, whether by the king, the lords, or the commons.

In consequence of the rejection of the money-bill, lord Shannon and Mr. Ponsonby were dismissed from their employments. It seemed too dangerous to leave the power and great offices of the kingdom in the hands of men, whose versatility and inconsistency, on this point, shewed that they acted not from principle but resentment, and only supported or opposed government, as they happened to be gratified or disappointed.

I pass over the short session which was held in the beginning of the year 1771, as nothing material occurred, except the resignation of the chair of the house of commons by Mr. Ponsonby. Being defeated in two or three questions, and seeing his interest on the decline, he absented himself, and

wrote a letter to the clerk, to be communicated to the house, excusing himself from the office of presenting their addresses to the king and lord lieutenant, and requesting them to chuse another speaker. Mr. Pery was elected in his room, and the session ended on the 18th of May.

The parliament met again in the October following. The revenue had fallen short in the last two years; the bounties had greatly increased, and consequently a considerable arrear of the establishment had been incurred. This was all candidly laid before the house. The cause of every public expence and difficulty was explained, and the proper remedies pointed out, in order to answer the one and to obviate the other.

New taxes were proposed to be appropriated for the payment of bounties, that the revenue might be exonerated, and applied solely to pay the establishment; but the house of commons preferred the old method of borrowing, and a loan of 200,000*l.* was opened. This loan it was found not a little difficult to fill: indeed the diffidence of the monied people was not ill-grounded. In Ireland there is really no security given to the public creditors for what sums they may advance: certain taxes, called the loan duties, are every session granted, and appropriated first to the payment of the interest of the debt, and secondly to the payment of the principal. But these duties are never granted for a longer term than two years; so that if any interruption was given to the regular meeting of the Irish parliament, the duties would fall, and till they were revived, the debentures would

be of no value. This consideration, joined to the turbulence of the times, and the recent attack on the constitution by the house of commons in rejecting the money-bill, filled the minds of many with apprehension and distrust.

During the whole course of this session, Mr. Ponsonby and his friends, together with the duke of Leinster and the patriots, gave all possible opposition to government on every even the most trifling occasion. For the first four months the house of commons never rose before ten o'clock, and very frequently sat several hours after midnight; scarcely a day passed without an attack upon the Castle. Various spiteful and absurd resolutions were proposed, at different times; some were carried, but the greater part were rejected. One of the most material events, which occurred in this session, related to the alterations made in the management of the revenue. I shall state it in a few words. By the 14th and 15th of Charles the Second, there ought properly to be two boards, one for the conduct of the customs, the other for the conduct of the excise; but, I know not how, both customs and excise were for a long time strangely confounded together, and put under the direction of the same board. The board consisted of seven commissioners, all of whom were appointed commissioners of customs, but five only were appointed commissioners of excise, the statute having limited the number. Their manner of acting under this commission not being strictly conformable to law, it was found necessary to validate their proceedings by several subsequent acts of parliament.

As the revenue was supposed to suffer from this irregular system, it was represented, that if the management was divided, in pursuance of the abovementioned acts of the 14th and 15th of Charles the Second, and of the *first of his present Majesty, and that the customs were put under the care of a separate and distinct board, and in like manner the excise and some other branches put under the care of another board, as is the practice in England, the good effects of such an arrangement would speedily appear. Several persons, supposed to be best skilled in business of this kind, were consulted, and delivered their opinions strongly in favour of the measure; government adopted it, and in the month of February 1772 it was put in execution.

This new arrangement has been attended with an expense of 16,000 *l.* in the last year: but it is presumed to be highly advantageous to the crown, whose revenue, now open to the depredations of the parliamentary grants and bounties, requires to be guarded with uncommon vigilance.

* The words of this act of parliament, passed in the first year of his majesty's reign, are remarkable:—"And be it enacted, that, from time to time, and at all times for ever hereafter, it shall and may be lawful for his majesty, his heirs, and successors, to constitute and appoint commissioners of the excise, and commissioners of the customs, by one or more commissions, under the great seal of this kingdom, to have and to hold their respective offices, during their good behaviour, or during his majesty's pleasure only, as to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, shall seem fitting; which commissioners, so appointed, or to be appointed, shall respectively have all such powers and authorities as the commissioners of excise and commissioners of customs respectively are now entitled to have, use, or exercise, by any law now in force in this kingdom."—1 Geo. 3, ch. 7, sect. 18.

It appears, by the public accounts, that the revenue is now increasing in several branches; and that, on the whole, the produce of this last year, since the boards have been divided, exceeds the produce of the preceding year, when the boards were on the old footing, in a sum of 48,000*l.* and upwards. As long as the revenue improves under this mode of management, there can be no just ground of complaint; and yet the probable rise of the hereditary revenue was the true cause of the opposition made to the measure; for, as I have before observed, the great aim of Irish politicians is to keep down the hereditary revenue as much as possible, to divert it from its proper channel, and to prevent the crown from depending on any resource, but what they may choose to supply. The house of commons therefore raised a great clamour, and passed two resolutions on this occasion. In the first, they only hinted their disapprobation; in the second, they plainly expressed it; but, when parliamentary resolutions are not founded on law and reason, they become impotent and ridiculous, and merit no attention.—The whole proceeding of government in this affair was nothing more than the due exercise of powers vested in the crown by different acts of parliament, and was in every respect strictly conformable to the letter and the spirit of the law. It was pleasant enough to hear Mr. Ponsonby's friends object to the expense of the measure, when it was notorious to the whole world, that in the last twenty years, whilst he was at the head of the revenue-board, the charge of management was increased above 50,000*l.* per annum. In 1750 it amounted only to 69,799*l.*, and in 1770,

at the time of his dismissal, it had risen to 121,933*l.*—Nothing of any great moment occurred in the remainder of the session, which was concluded with the usual addresses to his majesty and the lord lieutenant.

I shall close this historical sketch with an observation or two on the government of lord Townshend.—Whatever errors may have been imputed to him, it is certain that he acted according to the best of his judgment. He was strongly impressed with the principles of the new system ; and, as far as was in his power, endeavoured to maintain the king's authority against the undertakers. Though often unsuccessful, he never despaired ; though often repulsed, he always returned to the charge ; so that, at last, by dint of patience and perseverance, he was enabled to lay such a foundation, as, if strictly adhered to, may render the government of Ireland secure and independent for ever hereafter.

END OF THE EXTRACT FROM THE ACCOUNT OF IRELAND.

A
JOURNAL OF AN EMBASSY
FROM
THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN
TO
THE EMPEROR OF CHINA,
IN THE YEARS 1792, 1793, AND 1794.
BY THE EARL OF MACARTNEY.

A JOURNAL, &c.

I EMBARKED at Spithead on board the *Lion* man of war of 64 guns, commanded by Sir Erasmus Gower, on Friday the 21st September, 1792, and sailed from thence on Wednesday the 26th, the wind not permitting us to proceed sooner. The *Indostan* Indiaman (on board of which were some of the gentlemen of my train, some of the guard, and the greater part of the presents) and the *Jackall* brig tender got under way at the same time; but a gale of wind coming on, the *Jackall* was obliged to put back, and we saw no more of her till the March following, when she overtook us in the streights of Sunda. The *Indostan* kept company with us during the whole voyage from the Channel to the *Pay-ho* river in the Gulf of *Pe-che-li*.

We touched at Madeira for a few days, from whence we proceeded to Teneriffe, where we passed a week; the *Lion* having occasion to take in a quantity of wine for the ship's company during the voyage. We then proceeded to St. Jago, the capital of the Cape de Verde islands (in order to renew our water and stock) and found it very much distressed, no rain having fallen there for three years past.

From St. Jago we sailed to Rio Janeiro, where we remained about a fortnight. In our way from thence to the streights of Sunda, we visited the desert island of Tristan d'Acunha, as also the islands of Amsterdam and St. Paul. From the streights of Sunda we hastened to Batavia, at which place we were most hospitably entertained, and most magnificently feasted by the Dutch government. After leaving Batavia we anchored at several of the Malay islands, particularly Pulo Coudore, which little spot has undergone almost as many revolutions within these few years as the greatest empires in a series of ages. Our next stage was Turon Bay in Cochin-China, which afforded us a fine harbor, excellent water, plenty of provisions and accommodation for our sick; and after some days (when our good intentions and pacific deportment became unequivocally evident to the natives) we received distinguished civility and substantial kindness from the king of the country, whose place of residence was at the distance of two days' journey from our birth. He sent us presents of rice and vegetables, spices and cattle; in short, every thing that we had occasion for, and in such abundance that there remained a surplus above our wants, which I delivered to the English factory in China, to be disposed of for the account of the East India Company.

In return for his Cochin-Chinese Majesty's hospitality, I made him a present of my fine steel-hilted sword, also one of Elliot's gold watches, and a pair of bayonet-pistols, and some camblet and other lesser articles, which pistols and camblet I was obliged to purchase from an officer on board

the Indostan, and from another ship then at anchor in the bay, not being able to get at our own packages. This place affords a most excellent harbor, and there is a spot where a fort might be built and garrisoned at a small expence, sufficient to withstand any attempt against any force likely to be brought against it from any power of this part of the world. The riches or commodities of the country are summed up in one distich by father Lorceiro, a Portuguese missionary, who resided long in the country—

*Xylaloen, Myrrham, Piper ardens, Sacchara profert
Pluraque, si repetas, officiosa dabit.*

But besides the above articles, it produces excellent cinnamon, common rice, and mountain rice in vast abundance, and has many rich mines, both of gold and silver, one of the latter at no great distance from Turon-bay.

I have desired a sketch to be taken of this place, of the site for a fort, together with many other useful particulars; nor have I neglected the island of Campello in the offing, which I have also had visited and described, so that the East India Company may have before them all the information in my power to procure, in case they should ever think proper to make a settlement at this place.

Saturday, June 15, 1793. This day we sailed on board the Lion from Turon-bay in Cochin-China, accompanied by the Indostan and the two little brigs, Jackall and Clarence.

Wednesday, June 19th. At two o'clock P. M. we saw the main land of China, bearing N. N. E. distant leagues.

Thursday, June 20th. At six o'clock A. M. we came to an anchor off the Grand Ladrone in eleven fathoms water, within view of several small islands. The city of Macao bearing seven leagues N. W. of our birth.

I sent Sir George Staunton, Mr. Maxwell and Captain Mackintosh on shore for intelligence. None of the trading ships of the season being yet arrived, all the gentlemen of the different European factories were still at Macao.

Saturday, June 22d. This afternoon Sir George Staunton returned on board the Lion.

The information from Macao was, that the news of an embassy from England had been received at court with great satisfaction, that the Emperor considered it as no small addition to the glory of his reign, that its close should be distinguished by such an event, and that orders had been dispatched to all the sea-ports of China to give the most hospitable and honorable reception to his Majesty's ships, whenever they should appear on the coast. At the same time it was perceived that the embassy had excited great jealousy and apprehensions in the minds of some of the Europeans at Macao, particularly of the Dutch and Portuguese. With respect to the former, they were soon

quieted by our assurances, and by the letters we brought from Batavia ; but with regard to the latter, it was easy to discover that, whatever face they might wear towards us, we had to expect from them every ill office and counteraction in their power. It is singular enough that of the Europeans at Macao, none seemed better disposed to us than the Spanish agents, Messrs. Agoti and Fuentes, who not only testified their good will by several little services, but gave us an essential proof of their confidence by sending me a manuscript plan and chart of the city of Macao, and the river of Canton, taken upon the spot by Mr. Agoti himself, the result of several years observation and labor.

Sir George Staunton left the missionaries *Nyan* and *Vang* on shore, as also one of our interpreters Padre *Cho*, who suddenly took fright, and was so impressed with an apprehension of the government at Peking, that he could not be persuaded to proceed with us. We indeed regret the loss of him the less, as his companion who remains with us, though not so complete a scholar, is a man of much better temper, has a very good understanding, an excellent disposition, and is sincerely attached to us. In the place of Padres *Nyan* and *Vang* we, at the earnest request of the Italian missionaries of the propaganda at Macao, to whom we owe some obligations, have consented to give a passage to two others, who had been waiting for an opportunity of proceeding to Peking, and of entering into the Emperor's service there, as mathematicians and astronomers.

Sunday, June 23d. Sailed this morning from the Grand Ladrone at six o'clock A. M. with the *Indostan*, Jackall,

and Clarence in company. Our course N. E. Passed Pedro Blanco, a large white rock above the water, at four P. M. The Chinese coast still in sight about nine leagues distant.

Friday, June 28th. Lost sight of the Indostan and the two brigs in the dark weather, and sailed for the Quesan or Patchcock islands, where we expect to fall in with the Endeavor brig, Captain Proctor, whom the Company's commissioners had dispatched some time before, with orders to cruize for us there till the 30th instant.

Saturday, June 29th. Passed the Heusan island and arrived off the Quesan's; anchored in eleven fathoms, soft mud. Patchcock island, two leagues west from us.

Sunday, June 30th. We saw nothing of the Endeavor, neither could we learn any news of her from the Chinese fishing vessels, several thousands of which covered the sea all around us.

A Chinese pilot came on board with some of his people, who seemed never to have seen such a ship as the *Lion* had before; they examined every thing with great curiosity | the, observing the emperor of China's picture in the cabin, immediately fell flat on their faces before it, and kissed the ground several times with great devotion.

Monday, July 1st. At three o'clock P. M. we were joined by the Indostan, Jackall and Clarence. Ever since we made the coast of China (on the 19th of last month) the weather

has been (excepting one day) always dark, heavy, rainy, moist, or stormy.

Wednesday, July 3d. This day we came to an anchor in Cheusan roads in six and a half fathoms water, between Plowman's island and Buffalo's nose, a most excellent safe harbor, sheltered from all winds. The city of Cheusan about 50 miles west of us.—Sir George Staunton went in the *Clarence* to Cheusan, in order to procure pilots from the governor to conduct us to *Tien-sing*.

Sunday, July 7th. Sir George Staunton returned and brought with him the pilots, who, on being informed of the *Lion's* draft of water, said that a ship of her size could not proceed farther than *Mie-tao*, near the city of *Ten-chou-fou*, at the entrance of the gulph of *Pe-che-li*, but that all sorts of convenient vessels could be procured at that place to convey us from thence in safety to *Tien-sing*, and the passage could be made in four days. The gulph of *Pe-che-li* is represented by them to be without any good anchoring ground, very shallow, and in many places full of shifting sands.

Sir George Staunton had a good deal of difficulty in procuring the pilots. The governor of Cheusan, to whom he had applied, told him that his authority extended no further than to furnish pilots to conduct us to the adjoining province, where others would in like manner be supplied to proceed with us to the next, and so on along the coast till we reached our last port; but as this mode of management did not at all

suit us, Sir George requested him, if possible, to find some persons who would take charge of our navigation the whole way from *Cheusan* to *Tien-sing*, without stopping at any intermediate place; adding that if such pilots could not be had at *Cheusan*, they might perhaps be got from *Ning-po*. Upon this the governor, fully sensible of the emperor's orders with regard to the embassy, and apprehensive that we might address ourselves to his superior Mandarin at *Ning-po*, exerted himself so effectually that at last two men were discovered who, having formerly been owners and masters of vessels in the trade, had frequently been at *Tien-sing*, but it was with the greatest reluctance, and indeed under a sort of compulsion, that they undertook the charge: and after all, considering the little nautical skill they seem to possess, we do not expect any great assistance from them, but must trust a good deal to our own.

Monday, July 8th. This day we sailed for *Mie-tao* from *Cheusan* roads.

Tuesday, July 16th. I sent my Proclamation to Captain Mackintosh relative to the conduct of his people on board the *Indostan*, also a duplicate to Lieutenant-colonel Benson and to Mr. Barrow, to be communicated to the soldiers and servants on board that ship.

Friday, July 19th. We came to anchor this morning in *Tchi-tao* Bay, which our pilots had mistaken for *Mie-tao*. They seem grossly ignorant and timid, were frightened out of their wits, when they observed on our passage along the

coast, that on shoaling our water we always stood out to sea, and were puzzled beyond measure by our manœuvres, seeing us work to windward without minding weather, tide, or monsoon.

I delivered my proclamation to Sir Erasmus Gower, who ordered it to be read to the crew of the *Lion*.

Saturday, July 20th. We got a new pilot from the shore, and in a few hours came abreast of the city of *Ten-chou-fou*.

We now discovered that *Mic-tao* is an island to the northward of us, instead of being an harbor on the main, as we had been led to imagine. It lies about three miles and a half eastward of *Ten-chou-fou*; we came to an anchor half way between them, in eight fathoms water, but veering off to fifteen. The road is bad and dangerous.

For several days the weather has been very unsettled, sometimes extremely boisterous and at others almost calm, with frequent fogs, the latter always the concomitants of an easterly wind. Whenever it cleared up we eagerly turned our eyes towards the shore, which afforded us great variety of prospect. The back ground of the province of *Chan-tong*, as we sailed along it, appeared generally barren, mountainous and rocky, but wherever we could perceive the smallest interval of cultivable ground, it smiled under the hand of industry. We could not well distinguish the kinds of grain

that were growing, but they seemed to be Indian corn, millet, beans, and peas.

From *Mandarin's-bonnet* to *Ten-chou-fou*, there are pleasant villages to be seen on the shore at every half mile's distance, in which many of the houses are built of stone, (the elevation of their roofs at an angle of forty-five degrees,) and covered with tiles very neatly arranged. The coast is often indented with small sandy bays, and there are many safe harbors for vessels of a moderate size, formed by islands at a short distance from the main. The sea is of very unequal depth, often varying within an hour from five to forty-two fathoms, which last it never exceeded.

In the evening, about three hours after we had let go our anchor, the Governor of *Ten-chou-fou*, a Mandarin of high rank, came on board to visit me. He told me he had received orders from his court to entertain us, to render us all services in his power, and to provide for us proper means of conveyance, if we chose to proceed by land from *Ten-chou-fou* to Peking. His visit lasted upwards of two hours, during which he talked a great deal, and with as much ease and frankness as if we had been old acquaintance. He is about thirty-five years of age, courteous, intelligent and inquisitive.

Sunday, July 21st. Dispatched the *Jackall* under the command of Mr. Campbell, first lieutenant of the *Lion*, across the gulph of *Pc-chi-li* towards *Tien-sing* to explore the navigation

At noon the Governor of *Ten-chou-fou*, who was here last night, sent on board for us a present of four bullocks, eight sheep, eight goats, five measures of white rice, five measures of red rice, 200 lb. of flour, and several baskets of fruit and vegetables, which was acknowledged by a proper return.

An old man of seventy years of age has been put on board as a pilot, who says that the gulph of *Pecheli* is always perfectly safe in the months of July, August and September, so that the *Lion* has nothing to apprehend from the weather for some time to come, that the boats for carrying our baggage and the presents are now ready at the mouth of the river leading up to *Tien-sing*, and waiting for our arrival; and that they are large and convenient, and so constructed, that there is no danger of our packages being wetted or damaged.

Ten-chou-fou is a city of the first rank in the province of *Chan-long*, about a mile and a half in length, but much less in breadth. At the southern extremity it includes a large space of ground that is not built upon; and at the northern end is a rocky elevation with an extensive pagoda upon it, which overlooks and commands the whole city. The walls and bastions are crenelled and kept in perfect repair, but there is no appearance of any guns upon them.

This evening we were joined by the *Endeavor* brig, Captain Procter of the Bombay marine, which the company's commissioners had dispatched from Macao with letters for us. Not knowing of our intentions of calling there, they had, a little before our arrival on the coast, ordered this vessel to the

northward, in hopes of her meeting us before we got the length of *Tien-sing*.

Monday, July 22d. Sailed from *Ten-chou-fou*, leaving *Mie-tao* on our right hand and some small islands on our left. The passage is safe.

Tuesday, July 23d. Our observation at noon to-day gave us $38^{\circ} 42'$ north latitude. We are now got into that part of the Yellow Sea, called the gulph of *Pe-che-li*, which is remarkably smooth and clear. We have had a light breeze that carries us four or five miles an hour, and at four o'clock this evening were out of sight of land.

Wednesday, July 24th. At day-break saw the land, about 12 miles distant from us. It is low, flat and sandy, with a heavy surf beating upon it with great violence. We sounded and had ground at six and a half fathoms. We suppose ourselves to be ten leagues to the south-east of *Tien-sing* river. It is thought that the coast is laid down in the chart too far to the westward, or that too much breadth is given to the gulph, which by our reckoning cannot be three degrees from east to west.

Thursday, July 25th. This morning at sun-rise we discovered, at about two or three miles distance, a prodigious number of Chinese vessels all around us. Our pilots did not precisely know where we were; we supposed ourselves to be eight or nine miles from the river that goes up to *Tien-sing*, as houses and trees were just discernible from the mast-head

to the north and south; and we found, when Lieutenant Campbell and Mr. Hütner returned in the Jackall this evening that we had not been much mistaken. They told us that when they arrived in the mouth of the river, some inferior Mandarinés had come on board, and finding they belonged to the embassy, had conducted them on shore, and presented them to two great men, who had been stationed at that place for some time past in expectation of my coming; they were received with many marks of respect and treated with great hospitality. A thousand questions were asked relative to every particular of the embassy, the number of persons, their ages and qualities, the presents brought for the emperor, and what they consisted of; the size and force of the Lion and the other ships attending us, &c. The answers to all which were written down by the Secretary in waiting. At their departure they were desired to inform me that every thing was ready for my reception, and that as soon as the Lion approached the bar, two great Mandarinés would be sent on board to compliment me. We are now not above five leagues distant from the bar.

It appears that the expectations of the Chinese have been raised very high (by the manner in which the embassy was announced) of the presents which it is to be accompanied with. When Sir George Staunton was at Macao, he found, on conversing with the gentlemen there, that they were conceived of immense value, and when he mentioned what they were, it was thought that the Chinese would be much disappointed. From these considerations Mr. Brown was induced to add his fine telescope to what we had already

brought, and I have this day completed our apparatus with Parker's great lens, which Captain Mackintosh brought out with him on a speculation, and which he has been prevailed upon to part with on very reasonable terms, foregoing all the profit which he had the prospect of deriving from the sale of so valuable and so uncommon an article. As this lens is an object of singular curiosity, it was apprehensive that if it fell into the hands of the Chinese merchants, and were presented through their channel to the Emperor, it might tend towards the disparagement of our fine things, and perhaps be imagined to eclipse them. I therefore thought it advisable for the public service and the honor of the embassy, to join it to the other presents; and now being possessed of Mr. Brown's fine telescope and this extraordinary lens, I flatter myself we have no rivalships to apprehend at Peking from the appearance of any instrument of a similar kind.

This evening I sent back Mr. Hütner in the Endeavor brig, in order to explain to the Mandarines, whom he had seen, a number of particulars relative to our going on shore, and to make inquiry about several things which it is necessary for us to be previously acquainted with.

Friday, July 15th. It rained most violently all the forenoon, and in the evening we had for several hours together such a series of lightning and thunder as I never remember before. The lightning seemed to overspread the whole sky with immensurable sheets of livid flame, accompanied by continued volleys of thunder that resembled the rolling fire of well-disciplined troops at a review. The sea however remained

perfectly smooth and unruffled by these concussions of the atmosphere, and we rode at single anchor all the time.

Saturday, July 27th. A clear fine day. The sun seems to rise with new brightness and serenity, after the turbulence of the night. I delivered to Sir Erasmus Gower my letter to him of this date.

Sunday, July 28th. Several inferior Mandarines came on board, and informed us that every thing was preparing for our landing, that a number of boats were already in waiting, and that the remainder would be down to-morrow. We shifted our birth and removed a little nearer to the bar, in six fathoms water. Our station was ascertained this day by an exact observation to be $38^{\circ} 51'$. north latitude, and $117^{\circ} 50'$. east longitude from Greenwich. The variation of the compass by an amplitude 27th July, $1^{\circ} 29'$. west, and 28th July $1^{\circ} 25'$. west.

The rise of the tides here is eight or nine feet. They ebb and flow all round the compass, but the strength of the flood is from S. E. and ebb from N. W.

Monday, July 29th. Nothing material occurred.

Tuesday, July 30th. The Endeavor returned and brought us all the information we had desired. Some of the Mandarines, having said that they intended to purchase watches and swords, when they came on board, seemed a little disappointed when Mr. Hüttner told them that as we were not

merchants we had nothing to sell. It would seem, however, from this, that they expect presents of the kind, and unluckily our baggage, where those articles are, cannot easily be come at. I must therefore, I believe, purchase from some of the officers of the Hindostan a few small things for the purpose.

Wednesday, July 31st. The wind blowing all day very strong from the eastward, prevented any boats coming from the shore.

At noon two Mandarin^{es} of high rank, attended by seven large junks, laden with variety of provisions for our ships, came along side. The profusion of these was so great and so much above our wants, that we were obliged to decline accepting the larger part of them. I here insert the list—twenty bullocks; one hundred and twenty sheep; one hundred and twenty hogs; one hundred fowls; one hundred ducks; one hundred and sixty bags of flour; one hundred and sixty bags of rice; fourteen boxes of tartar bread; ten chests of tea; ten chests of small rice; ten chests of red rice; ten chests of white rice; ten chests of tallow candles; one thousand water melons; three thousand musk melons; twenty-two boxes of dried peaches; twenty-two boxes of fruit preserved with sugar; twenty-two boxes of other fruit; twenty-two boxes of ochras; twenty-two boxes of other vegetables; forty baskets of large cucumbers; one thousand squash cucumbers; forty bundles of vegetables; twenty measures of peas in the pods; three baskets of earthen ware, or coarse-porcelaine.

In truth, the hospitality, attention, and respect which we have experienced at *Turon*, *Chusan*, *Ten-chou-fou*, and here, are such as strangers meet with only in the eastern part of the world.

The two chief Mandarines are called *Fan-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*. *Fan* and *Chou* are their family names, *Ta-gin* is the title annexed to their rank, and signifies *great man*.

Fan-ta-gin is a war Mandarin, has a peacock's feather and a red coral flourished button on his cap, which is the distinguishing mark of the second order; *Chou-ta-gin*, who wears a blue button, which is a degree inferior to the red, is a civilian and a man of letters. After a number of compliments and civilities in the Chinese manner, we proceeded to business, and *Chou-ta-gin* wrote down from time to time such particulars as he thought necessary. We have settled with them every thing relative to our going ashore, the mode of conveying our baggage and the presents, and the kind and number of vessels for the purpose. I find it will be a work of four or five days at least, before we can leave the ship.

These two Mandarines seem to be intelligent men, frank and easy in their address and communicative in discourse. They sat down to dinner with us, and though at first a little embarrassed by our knives and forks, soon got over the difficulty, and handled them with notable dexterity and execution upon some of the good things they had brought us. They tasted of our wines of different kinds, and also of our

spirits, from gin, rum and arrack, to shrub, raspberry and cherry brandy, the latter of which seemed to hit their palates in preference to the rest; and they shook hands with us like Englishmen at their going away. They were much struck with the appearance of the guard and marines, (which were drawn up on the quarter deck to salute them as they passed,) listened with attention to our music; and departed, I believe, very much pleased with our manner of entertaining them. They were very inquisitive about the presents, and when I explained to them their nature, they seemed to think them very proper, and requested a list of them to be transmitted to court, which I have promised.

Friday, August 2d. This day the junks came from the shore along side of the Hindostan, and began to take in the articles which are to be carried from on board her. A Mandarin of the third order, with a blue button on his cap, came with them to superintend the business, and stayed till the vessels were loaded.

Saturday, August 3d. The loading continues, and it is expected to be finished the day after to-morrow. The same Mandarin who attended yesterday returned to-day.

Sunday, August 4th. This day the people worked with great alacrity, the loading was completed, and all the baggage and presents put on board the large junks, to be transhipped into smaller ones, at *Ta-cou*, in order to be conveyed up the river to *Tong-siou* (within twelve miles of Peking) where the navigation discontinues.

The Chinese sailors are very strong and work well, singing and roaring all the while, but very orderly and well regulated, intelligent and ingenious in contrivance and resource, each of them seeming to understand and exercise his proper share of the business and labor going forward.

In each vessel were inferior Mandarinés who received the articles, and gave accountable notes for them, so that no loss or mistake is likely to happen.

All the Chinese whom we have yet seen, from the highest to the lowest, have their heads close shaved, except on the crown, where the hair is left untouched by the razor, for about a couple of inches in diameter, and is suffered to grow to a great length, being considered as a very becoming ornament. It is always black, and as strong and coarse as horse hair, which it much resembles. It is platted in a tress, and falls down the back like a Ramillies queue. I have seen some of them a yard long. Those who can afford it wear bonnets of bamboo with a red silk fringe round them. The lower sort have straw hats, but many of them go quite bare-headed.

To-morrow we shall proceed on shore. From the very distinguished reception which we have met with, and from every appearance being so much in our favor, I think it will be best to send the Hindostan to Cheusan with the Lion (which is now so sickly that she must get into the first possible safe port for recruiting her people) in hopes that we may be able to obtain permission for her (the Hindostan) to take in a

cargo there, by way of a beginning to the expected extension of our commerce in China.

Captain Mackintosh himself comes with us to Peking, and I propose to dispatch him from thence, with the permission, if procured, to join his ship at Cheusan, and to carry our dispatches from thence to England, which we flatter ourselves will then be very interesting.

Monday, August 5th, 1793. This day at nine A. M. we left the *Lion* man of war, and embarking in smaller vessels, (myself and the gentlemen of the embassy, in the *Clarence*, *Jackall*. and *Endeavor*, the servants, guards and other attendants, with the baggage, presents, &c. in Chinese junks,) proceeded to the mouth of the Pay-ho river, the distance about fifteen miles.

Having a good breeze, and a spring tide in our favour; we in a few hours got over the bar, on which we found from seven to nine feet of water—at the bar, and within it, the water is very thick and turbid, although between the bar and the *Lion's* birth the sea was remarkably green and clear.

The coast is so low, that it can scarcely be seen till you approach within a couple of miles of it, and is only then to be distinguished by the buildings which rise above it. On entering the river, we were perfectly astonished and confounded by the inconceivable number of vessels of all sorts with which it was covered. The troops were drawn up on the southern bank and made a tolerable good appearance.

The Mandarines *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, who had dined with us on board the *Iion*, now came to visit us, and pressed us much to accept their invitation to a banquet on shore, which had been prepared for us; but being a good deal fatigued, I declined it, and proceeded up the river about a mile farther to the yacht provided to convey me to the city *Tong-siou* within twelve miles of Peking. This yacht was large, clean, comfortable and convenient; and here I found the Mandarines *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* to welcome me, and to inquire whether any thing was farther necessary for my accommodation. Similar care and attention seem to have been paid to all the other gentlemen. The river here appeared to be as broad as the Thames at Gravesend, with a great number of houses on each side built of mud and thatched, a good deal resembling the cottages near Christchurch in Hampshire, and inhabited by such swarms of people, as far exceeded my most extravagant ideas even of Chinese populousness. Among those who crowded the banks, we saw several women, who tripped along with such agility, as induced us to imagine their feet had not been crippled in the usual manner of the Chinese. It is said indeed that this practice, especially among the lower sort, is now less frequent in the northern provinces than in the others. These women are much weather-beaten but not ill featured, and wear their hair (which is universally black and coarse) neatly braided, and fastened on the top of their heads with a bodkin. The children are very numerous and mostly stark naked. The men in general well-looking, well limbed, robust and muscular. I was so much struck with their appearance, that I

could scarcely refrain from crying out with Shakespear's Miranda in the Tempest :

Oh wonder !

How many goodly creatures are there here,
How beauteous mankind is ! oh brave new world
That has such people in it.

Tuesday, 6th August, 1793. Early this morning provisions for the day were distributed with great order and regularity, and in vast abundance, among all the different departments of the embassy : and soon after, several Mandarin of high rank came to visit me, and to inform me that the *Tson-tou*, or viceroy of the province of *Pe-che-li*, whose usual residence is at *Pao-ting-fou*, one hundred miles distant, was arrived here, having been sent by the emperor to compliment me on my entrance into his dominions, and to give proper orders upon the occasion. At eight A.M. I went on shore accompanied by Sir George Staunton, his son and our interpreter, passing from my yacht over a temporary wooden bridge, erected for this purpose, covered with mats, and having rails on each side decorated with scarlet silk. Here we found palanquins prepared for us, which are neat light chairs, made of bamboo, and covered with satin, and carried by four stout fellows, two of them before and two of them behind. In these we set out, escorted by a troop of horse, for *Hy-chin-miao*, or the Temple of the Sea-god, where the viceroy had taken up his quarters ; and though the distance was near a mile, yet the same men carried us at a pretty smart pace, the whole way, without resting. Before the gates of the

temple, were several tents pitched, of various colors, white, red and blue (but the latter seemed to predominate) having each a distinguishing pendant, and before them were drawn up several companies of soldiers with sabres in their hands (no fire arms) and dressed in a uniform of blue stuff or cotton, laced with a broad red galoon. Besides the troop of horse which escorted us, there was another body of cavalry attending at the temple, each cavalier having a bow and a quiver of arrows, but no sword nor pistols.

The viceroy received us at the gate with distinguished politeness and an air of cordiality, and led us into a great saloon which was soon filled by his officers and attendants, from whence, after drinking tea, we removed to another apartment, to which we passed through a spacious square court, each side of which was formed by magnificent buildings, much resembling those in my book of Chinese drawings. The ornaments were so brilliant and so diversified, that I at first imagined them to be of wood, painted and highly varnished but, on a nearer inspection, I found them to be of porcelain and tiles of various molds and colors. Though the Chinese architecture is totally unlike any other, and most of its combinations and proportions contradictory to ours, yet its general effect is good, and by no means displeasing to the eye.

We now entered upon business. The viceroy began by many compliments and enquiries about our health, and talked much of the Emperor's satisfaction at our arrival, and of his wish to see us at Gehol in Tartary (where the court

always resides at this season) as soon as possible. To these civilities we made the proper returns of compliment, and then informed the viceroy that the train of the embassy consisted of so many persons, and that the presents for the emperor and our own baggage were so numerous, and took up so much room, that we should require very spacious quarters at Pekin: That as we found it was the emperor's wish for us to proceed to Gehol, we should prepare ourselves accordingly; but that we should find it necessary to leave a great part of the presents at Pekin, as many of them could not be transported by land to such a distance, without being greatly damaged, if not totally destroyed. We explained to him the high compliment intended by the first sovereign of the western world, to the sovereign of the east, by sending the present embassy, and hoped it would be attended with all the good effects expected from it. That as it was equally my duty and inclination to promote these views to the utmost of my power, I requested the viceroy would be so kind as to give me such information and advice as might enable me to render myself and my business as acceptable to the emperor as possible. I also mentioned to him, that as the Lion and the other ships that came with me were very sickly, and stood in need of an hospital and of refreshments on shore for the accommodation and recovery of their people, it would be necessary for Sir Erasmus Gower to be furnished with a diploma, by virtue of which he might be entitled to those advantages, at such ports as he might find it most convenient to repair to on the coast of China, either *Mie-tao*, or *Cheusan*, for the advancing season required his speedy departure out of the gulph of *Pe-che-li*.

It is impossible to describe the ease, politeness, and dignity of the viceroy during the whole conference, the attention with which he listened to our requests, and the unaffected manner in which he expressed his compliance with them. With regard to the ships, imagining their stores must have been exhausted, in so long a voyage, he offered to supply them with twelve months provisions immediately. I hope this does not forebode his wishes for our speedy departure. He is a very fine old man, of seventy-eight years of age, of low stature, with small sparkling eyes, a benign aspect, a long silver beard, and the whole of his appearance calm, venerable, and dignified.

During the course of this visit, I was particularly struck with the apparent kindness and condescension with which the people of rank here speak to, and treat their inferiors and lowest domestics.

When we returned to our yachts we found a most magnificent and plentiful dinner prepared for us, which had been sent as a present by the viceroy.

Wednesday, August 7th. Early this morning *Van-ta-gin* came to visit me, and said it was the intention of the viceroy to wait upon me at ten o'clock A. M. He then turned the discourse upon the viceroy's great age and debility of body, which, however, he said would not prevent him from paying his compliments to me in person, although it would be attended with great inconvenience to him, to walk from the shore over the wooden bridge to my yacht, the descent

from the bank being very steep, and not quite safe for a feeble old man : I immediately saw what he was driving at, and therefore told him that I should be very sorry to be the occasion of the viceroy's risking either his person or his health for the sake of a visit of ceremony ; as for other points of ceremony, I was unacquainted with the Chinese customs myself, but as the viceroy knew them perfectly, I was sure he would do, in regard to them, whatever was right, and which the emperor would most approve of doing. Upon this *Van-ta-gin* said, that the Viceroy would come in his palanquin to the end of the bridge, and send in his visiting ticket to me, and hoped I would consider it the same as if he had come across the bridge in person into my yacht. I repeated, what I had said before, and told him I left all the matter entirely to the viceroy himself. He seemed to go away very well pleased, and at ten o'clock the viceroy came in great state with the parade of guards, and a very numerous attendance of Mandarinés and officers, who, as soon as his palanquin was set down, all dismounted from their horses, and kneeled down to pay him their obeisance. He sent an officer with his visiting paper, which is a large sheet several times doubled, painted red, and inscribed with the owner's titles in large characters, and which my interpreter received from him. This business being performed, the viceroy returned to his quarters in the same form, ceremony, and order with which he came. The next day was chiefly employed in preparing for our departure, and arranging the order of our progress. In this we were assisted by the different Mandarinés appointed to attend us, with a regularity, alertness, and dispatch that appeared

perfectly wonderful. Indeed the machinery and authority of the Chinese government are so organized, and so powerful, as almost immediately to surmount every difficulty, and to produce every effect that human strength can accomplish. The gentlemen of the embassy, the servants, artists, musicians, and guards, together with the presents and baggage, were embarked on thirty-seven yachts, or junks, each yacht having a flag flying at her mast-head to distinguish her rank, and ascertain her station in the procession. There was besides a great number of other boats and vessels of various sorts for the Mandarines and officers who were allotted to our service, and who amounted to near one hundred, of different degrees, wearing the red, blue, white, and yellow buttons by which their respective qualities are denoted.

Friday, August 9th. This morning I dispatched Mr. Proctor in the Endeavor from the river. He was obliged to take back with him the two Macao missionaries, Hanna and Lamiet, without their having ever come ashore. We found indeed that if they accompanied us to Peking, they would be considered as belonging to the embassy, and obliged to depart with it, whereas their intention is to enter the emperor's service, and to remain the rest of their lives in China, like the other missionaries. At noon the gongs or copper drums began to beat with a most deafening noise, and gave the signal for all being ready for departure. In less than an hour our whole fleet was under sail, and we proceeded up the river with a good breeze, and flowing tide, at the rate of about four miles per hour.

Sunday, August 11th. This morning we arrived at the city of *Tien-sing*. It is about eighty miles distant by water from the mouth of the river, but only forty-five by land. Here the viceroy had arrived the night before, in order to receive us, and here we were met by *Chin-ta-gin*, a Tartar Mandarin in high office at this place, who was stiled the emperor's legate, having been deputed together with *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* to accompany us from hence to Gehol, the viceroy's age and infirmities disabling him from any fatiguing service. Our yachts stopped almost in the middle of the town, before the viceroy's pavilion. On the opposite quay close to the water was erected for this occasion a very spacious and magnificent theatre adorned and embellished with the usual brilliancy of Chinese decorations and scenery, where a company of actors exhibited a variety of dramas and pantomimes during several hours, almost without intermission. Both sides of the river were lined for near a mile in length with the troops of the garrison, all in uniform, accompanied by innumerable flags, standards and pendants, by the clangor of various instruments of warlike music. At noon I disembarked with all the gentlemen of the embassy, and my whole train of servants, musicians, and guards. I was received at my landing by the viceroy and the legate, and conducted to their pavilion, where as soon as we were seated, the conversation began, and continued for some time in the same general strain of mutual compliments and professions, as our former one at *Ily-chin-miao*. We then descended to particulars, and after a very long discussion, during which I easily discovered a perverse and unfriendly disposition in the legate towards all our concerns, and which struck me the more

forcibly, when contrasted with the urbanity and graciousness of his superior the viceroy. It at last was settled that we should proceed upon the river up to *Tong-siou*, a city within twelve miles of Peking, which would take us up seven days, and consequently carry us to the eighteenth of August. From *Tong-siou* we were to travel the rest of our journey by land, but we should probably be detained at that place for several days, on account of the trouble of removing the presents and baggage out of the boats, of procuring porters and carriages for their conveyance, and a variety of other arrangements necessary to be made for the accommodation of the embassy previous to our settlement in the capital. I calculated that thus we should scarcely be able to reach Peking sooner than the 20th, and that we should then require at least ten days to repose ourselves, to settle my family, to separate the presents, and prepare for our further journey into Tartary, which I supposed we might be able to begin about the 5th September. The planetarium, the globes, the great lens, the lustres, the clocks and some other articles, I declared my intention of leaving behind at Peking, and expressed my wishes of taking with me such of the other presents only as were not likely to suffer by a long land carriage. The journey from Peking to Gehol would not exceed seven or eight days at most, so that we might expect to reach the emperor's court some time before his birth-day, which we understood was to fall on the 17th of September.

According to these ideas, which seemed to be approved of, I took my measures, but to my great surprise, soon after the legate, who now began to come forward with an air of

greater importance, took up the subject of our conversation anew, started objections to some parts of the arrangements, and pressed me very urgently to let *all* the presents go to Gehol at once. I told him that nothing could be more agreeable to me than to accommodate myself to his ideas, but that from the nature and mechanism of several of the presents (which I explained to him) it would be impossible to transport them in the manner he wished without irreparable damage. Of my reasons he seemed to have no comprehension, but adhered to his own opinion, and added, that he believed the emperor would insist on having *all* the presents carried to Gehol and delivered at the same time. I answered him, that the emperor was certainly omnipotent in China, and might dispose of every thing in it as he pleased, but that as the articles which I meant to leave at Peking would certainly be totally spoiled, if managed according to his notions, I requested he would take them entirely into his own hands, for that I must be excused from presenting any thing in an imperfect or damaged state, as being unworthy of his Britannick Majesty to give and of his Chinese Majesty to receive.

This consideration startled him and, together with the viceroy's opinion, who perfectly comprehended and felt my reasoning, induced him to recede, and to acquiesce in the first arrangement; but I could not avoid feeling great disquiet and apprehension from this untoward disposition, so early manifested by the legate.

Having now adjusted this matter, we took our leave and returned to our yachts, where a magnificent dinner was sent

to us by the viceroy, with wine, fruits, sweetmeats, &c. together with presents of tea, silk, and muslins, not only for myself and gentlemen of my train, but even for all the servants, mechanics, musicians, and soldiers. Although of no great value, they were accompanied with so many obliging expressions and compliments, that we received them in the manner which we thought most likely to please the person who made them, especially as his whole deportment to us had been so handsome and satisfactory; and as he was to proceed directly to Gehol, where, no doubt, he would immediately give an account of us to the emperor, and we flattered ourselves, from our conduct, that it would not be to our disadvantage.

During the evening we received many visits from the principal Mandarines of *Tien-sing*, and the neighbourhood. They seemed to examine every thing belonging to us, our dress, our books, our furniture, with great curiosity and attention; were very inquisitive, lively, and talkative, and totally void of that composure, gravity, and seriousness, which we had been taught to believe constituted a part of the Chinese character.

This evening I received two letters from Mr. Grammont, a missionary at Peking, offering me his services, and cautioning me against a Portuguese missionary who, he says, has been appointed interpreter to the embassy. We received no information of this kind from the viceroy, the legate, or *Van-ta-gin*, or *Chou-ta-gin*: however, without taking notice of it, or shewing that I knew it, I seized the first occa-

sion to request that we might be allowed, when we arrived at Peking, to select one of the European missionaries, in the emperor's service, to attend us, and assist us in our affairs, whose language we are acquainted with. They promised to write to court on the subject, and said they had no doubt of success.

The city of Tien-sing is one of the largest in the empire; I think its extent along the river cannot be less than from Milbank to Limehouse; along the quays on each side are many conspicuous buildings, chiefly temples, warehouses, magazines, and public edifices. The private houses make no great figure, and present only a dead wall to the river, for all the windows look into the courts within. The population is said to exceed seven hundred thousand souls. The crowds of people (males only) whom we observed, both on shore and in the boats on the river, were quite astonishing. The numbers of vessels of different kinds were no less so; they certainly must amount to many thousands. Several of them are of great size, from one hundred to one hundred and sixty feet long, though seldom more than twenty-five feet broad. They are built very strong, of the shape of a long flat-bottomed trough, curved upwards at each end, but the poop considerably higher than the prow, and projecting a vast way behind the sternpost, which thus appears almost in the middle of the vessel. The sails are of mats, or of cotton, made like a fan to fold up with bamboo sticks and, when required to be set, are drawn up from the deck with great labor (for they are ignorant of the use of the double pulley) by rings or hoops of rattan round the mast, which is of one

stick, and of enormous thickness, and which, having no shrouds, is supported by a stout step in the keelson below, and by strong wedges driven in at the partners above. The depth of the hold from the deck is only eleven feet, and the draft of water about five or six feet. These vessels frequently make considerable voyages along shore, trading to *Lie-chou-fou*, *Ten-chou-fou*, *Limpo*, *Emoy*, and even to *Canton*; but are frequently wrecked and lost upon the coasts, from the extraordinary ignorance of the Chinese in the art of navigation; for although above two hundred and fifty years are elapsed since they have been acquainted with Europeans, and though they see and admire our ships, and our seamanship, yet have they never, in the slightest point, imitated our mode of building, or manœuvres, but obstinately and invariably adhere to the antient customs and clumsy practice of their ignorant ancestors; and this negligence is the more extraordinary, as there is no country where naval skill is more requisite; for the interior provinces are all connected by innumerable canals, rivers, and lakes, and the maritime ones are chiefly subsisted by the fishery. They have no forestaff, sextant, octant, or quadrant, or other instrument for taking the latitude; neither do they make use of any logline to ascertain their run; the only directions they have are their soundings and compass, and their guess of the distance from headland to headland.

About the middle of the town the river divides; the branch, which we have ascended, flows almost due east, the other takes a southern direction. Our course is on the main stream N.W. which we are to pursue without stopping, except for

a short time to make visits, and to receive the provisions of our tables, which are regularly distributed every day early in the morning.

Monday, August 12th. This morning we arrived at *Yong-Swin*. The tide comes no higher up than to this place, which is thirty-three miles from *Tien-Sing*, and from hence our yachts are drawn up against the stream by trackers on shore. There are usually fourteen or fifteen men to each yacht, so that the number now employed by us amounts to upwards of five hundred. The people engaged in this service are comely and strong made, but remarkably round-shouldered, owing, I suppose, to their mode of labor. They appear to be copper-colored from their constant exposure to the sun; but they are naturally fair, as we observed, when they stripped to plunge into the water. As in summer they go naked from the waist upwards, their complexion is of course very dark, but in the parts below, where they are usually clothed, it is not so. We are much troubled with musquitos or gnats, and other insects, among which is a phalæna or moth, of a sort gigantic size, not less than a humming bird, and we are pestered day and night long the noise of a sort of Cicada which chirps in the sedgy bank there, and is very obstreperous. Its music is not of the vocal kind, as I at first imagined, but seems to be occasioned by a strong oscillation of the wings, which they articulate with the dorsal vertebra*. The country on each side of the

* Upon further enquiry I find myself mistaken, and that this chirping is produced by the motion of two flaps, or *lamelle*, which cover the abdomen. It is the signal or invitation of the male insect to allure the female, which latter is quite

Pay-ho is quite flat and subject to inundations; the inconveniences of which are guarded against by different precautions. In some places great bastions of cut stone (granite) are built at particular reaches of the river to resist the floods; at others, the banks are bordered by causeways of the same material for a considerable length, with sluices at proper distances to let off the water, which is then distributed with great care and impartiality for the improvement of the neighbouring grounds. What we principally observed growing here were, Indian corn; the *Holcus sorgum*, or Barbados millet; the *panicum Italicum*, or small yellow millet; the *panicum milliaceum*, another sort of millet; a new kind of *phaseolus*, or kidney bean; several varieties of rice, cucumbers, water melons, apples, pears, plums, and peaches, but very few timber-trees, and those only willows, but of a very large size. Famines often happen in this part of the province, arising sometimes from want of rain; and sometimes from the depredations of locusts. On these occasions robberies are frequent, and not to be repressed by all the power of government; but as they are only committed through absolute hunger and necessity, so they usually cease at the return of plenty.

Tuesday, August 13th. Some of the provisions which were brought for us this morning being found tainted (which was

mute and unprovided with those organs of courtship. These insects nestle in the long sedge, and often sit upon trees. It would seem that in this country every thing that has life is multiplied to the highest degree, for so numerous is this noisy race, that we were almost deafened by their incessant *tintamarre*.

not to be wondered at, considering the extreme heat of the weather, Fahrenheit's thermometer being at 88°) the superintending Mandarin's were instantly deprived of their buttons, and all their servants bamboozed, before we knew any thing of the matter. So sudden and summary is the administration of justice here. As soon as we saw *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, we interceded in favor of the degraded delinquents; but though we were heard with great attention, and received very flattering answers, we easily perceived that no indulgence or relaxation of discipline was to be expected on such occasions.

Wednesday, August 14th. This morning we passed by a very beautiful building on the north bank of the river. It is a pleasure house erected for the emperor's accommodation in his progresses through this country.—The roof is covered with a sort of yellow tiles which, when the sun plays upon them, shine like burnished gold.

To day we had pleasant cool weather, flying clouds frequently obscuring the sky, but never descending in rain; travelling here would be agreeable enough, were it not for the confounded noise of the copper drums, which the people on the fore-castle are perpetually rattling upon. This we are told is meant as a compliment, and to do us honor, but I observe that it serves also as a signal of direction to regulate the motions of the accompanying yachts.

Thursday, August 15th. We now observed with great pleasure some picturesque blue mountains at thirty or forty

miles distance. They contribute a good deal to enliven our prospects, which have hitherto been confined to the level uniformity of the circumjacent country.

We found the river here considerably swelled by the late rains in Tartary, where it takes its rise, and the floods extended so far over the banks, that the trackers of our yachts were usually up to their middle in the water. During the greater part of the passage, our conductors *Chin-ta-gin* the legate, together with *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, visited me almost every day; but this morning they came with an appearance of more formality than usual. Their business was to acquaint me, that the emperor was much pleased with the accounts which he heard of us, and that he was disposed to let all our arrangements take place, as we had proposed: That he had ordered two houses to be prepared for us, one in the city of Peking, and the other in the country about six miles from it, near the emperor's palace at *Yuen-min-yuen*: That we might chuse which we liked best, but that they believed we should prefer the one in the country, because of its gardens and its neighbourhood to *Yuen-min-yuen*: That after we had been presented, and had assisted at the ceremony of the emperor's birth-day at Gehol, it was intended we should immediately return to the capital, and that the emperor himself would soon follow us. They added that as our stay in Tartary would be very short, they wished us not to carry the field pieces and howitzers with us, which, we had told them, made a part of our presents, as there would not be time or opportunity there to exercise or exhibit them. They then introduced the subject of the court ceremonies, with

a degree of art, address and insinuation that I could not avoid admiring. They began by turning the conversation upon the different modes of dress that prevailed among different nations and, after pretending to examine our's particularly, seemed to prefer their own on account of its being loose and free from ligatures, and of its not impeding or obstructing the genuflexions and prostrations which were (they said) customary to be made by all persons, whenever the emperor appeared in public. They therefore apprehended much inconvenience to us from our knee-buckles and garters, and hinted to us that it would be better to disencumber ourselves of them, before we should go to court. I told them that they need not be uneasy about that circumstance, as I supposed whatever ceremonies were usual for the Chinese to perform, the emperor would prefer my paying him the same obeisance which I did to my own sovereign. They said they supposed the ceremonies in both countries must be nearly alike, that in China the form was to kneel down upon both knees and make nine prostrations or inclinations of the head to the ground, and that it never had been and never could be dispensed with. I told them that our's was somewhat different, and that though I had the most earnest desire to do every thing that might be agreeable to the emperor, my first duty must be to do what might be agreeable to my own king; but that if they were really in earnest in objecting to my following the etiquette of the English court, I should deliver to them my reply in writing, as soon as I arrived at Pekin. They then talked of the length and dangers of our voyage, and said that as we had come to such a distance from home, our king would naturally be anxious for

our return, and that the emperor did not mean to hunt this autumn as usual, but to remove with his court very early to Peking on purpose that we might not be delayed. I told them that his Imperial Majesty would judge from the King's letter, and from my representations, what was expected from me at my return to England, and what time would be sufficient to enable me to transact the business I was charged with, and to describe to my sovereign the glory and virtue of the emperor, the power and splendor of his empire, the wisdom of his laws and moral institutes, the fame of which had already reached to the most distant regions.

I was then asked whether I had brought any presents to the emperor from myself, besides those from the king. This question disconcerted me not a little: however I replied, without hesitation, that I had brought a chariot, which was indeed (as it ought to be) much inferior in value to those sent by the king, yet being of a different form, and remarkably elegant of its kind, I hoped the emperor would condescend to accept it from me. I added, that I flattered myself I should have some other present to offer him at New Year's Day, meaning to impress them with an idea that I expected to be allowed to stay beyond that period; for all along, ever since our departure from *Tien-sing*, I have entertained a suspicion, from a variety of hints and circumstances, that the customs and policy of the Chinese would not allow us a very long residence among them. In all the different visits and conferences that have passed between us and our conductors, I observe, with great concern, a settled prejudice against the embassy in *Chin-ta-gin*, the legate, though often

attempted to be concealed by him under extravagant compliments and professions. I have taken great pains to conciliate him ; but I suspect he is not of a conciliable nature. With regard to *Fan-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, I think we have interested them much in our favor ; when we have had opportunities of conversing with them in the absence of the legate, they have scarcely disguised their sense of the emperor's partiality to the Tartars in preference to his Chinese subjects, and do they seem much to like their colleague the legate, who is a Tartar, and whom they consider as a sort of crazy, morose man ; but who, being the first in the commission, has the exclusive privilege of corresponding with the court upon our affairs. They said that we seemed very early to have discovered his character, and that they admired us much for the complaisance and patient attention of our deportment towards him.

Tuesday, August 16th. This day at half after six, P. M. we arrived at the suburbs of *Tong-siou*, where (our navigation being now ended) we quitted our yachts, and went on shore ; but before I proceed farther, I must set down a few particulars which have struck me, lest, in the multiplicity of things before me, they should slip from my memory ; indeed, observations ought always to be written upon the spot ; if made afterwards upon the ground of recollection they are apt to vary their hue considerably.

In the whole course of the river from *Tong-siou* to the sea, there is not, at present, a single permanent bridge, nor is there a bridge of any other kind whatsoever, except one of

boats at *Tien-sing*, which is occasionally opened or removed for the passage of vessels. I observed, however, this morning, about a dozen miles before we arrived here, the remains of a noble arch of solid masonry, and near it were several ruins of walls and buildings, as if some considerable city had formerly stood there. The whole country, which we passed through, was, as far as we could see, cultivated with uncommon neatness and industry. We are told, however, that the agriculture here is very inferior to what is practised in many other provinces.

The number of villages is wonderful, and the population almost incredible. Not a day passed that we did not meet or overtake many hundreds of vessels, laden with merchandize, and the produce of the neighbourhood, and crowded with such multitudes of owners and passengers, as left it almost doubtful, whether the inhabitants on the water did not equal those upon the land. During one of the visits that passed between us and our conductors, they turned the discourse upon our dominions in Bengal, and affirmed that some English troops from thence had lately given assistance to the insurgents in Thibet. I was very much startled with this intelligence, but instantly told them, that the thing was impossible, and that I could take upon me to contradict it in the most decisive manner. It came out, on farther conversation, that the emperor's troops had met with a check on the western borders, which was so unexpected, that they could account for it no otherwise than by supposing their enemies to be supported or assisted by Europeans, and they

pretended that several persons with hats had been particularly remarked in one of the engagements—I hope that by the manner in which I treated this intelligence, any ill impression which such a report might occasion to our prejudice will have been done away. Perhaps it was merely a feint or artifice to sift me, and try to discover our force, or our vicinity to their frontiers; and I am the more disposed to think so, because a day or two after, on resuming the subject, they asked me whether the English at Bengal would assist the Emperor against the rebels in those parts. As I had told them before, that one of the reasons why the story could not be true was the distance of our possessions from the scene of action, their question seemed calculated to catch me; for if, from eagerness or complaisance, I had answered in the affirmative, they would have concluded against my sincerity, because if our troops could come thither to the assistance of the emperor's troops, they could equally have come to the assistance of the enemies.

Our yachts have been all along the passage most plentifully supplied with provisions, China wine, fruits, and vegetables of various kinds, and served with great sedulity and attention. At all the military stations we passed (which were very numerous) the soldiers were turned out with their colors and music, and if it happened in the night, with the addition of illuminations and fireworks. Whatever little articles we seemed to want we were immediately supplied with, and no entreaties could prevail for our being allowed to purchase them. The most refined politeness and sly good breeding

appeared in the behaviour of all those Mandarines with whom we had any connection; but although we found an immediate acquiescence in words, with every thing we seemed to propose, yet, in fact, some ingenious pretence or plausible objection was usually invented to disappoint us. Thus when we desired to make little excursions from our boats into the towns, or into the country, to visit any object that struck us as we went along, our wishes were seldom gratified; the refusal or evasion was however attended with so much profession, artifice, and compliment, that we grew soon reconciled and even amused with it. We have indeed been very narrowly watched, and all our customs, habits, and proceedings, even of the most trivial nature, observed with an inquisitiveness and jealousy which surpassed all that we had read of in the history of China; but we endeavoured always to put the best face upon every thing, and to preserve a perfect serenity of countenance upon all occasions. I therefore shut my eyes upon the flags of our yachts, on which were inscribed, "*The English ambassador bringing tribute to the emperor of China*," and have made no complaint of it, reserving myself to notice it if a proper opportunity offers.

Saturday, August 17th. We shall be obliged to remain some days at *Tong-siou*, in order to land the presents and our baggage from the yachts, and to put them in proper order for carriage to *Yuen-min-yuen*, whither it is meant that we should go directly without stopping at Peking. From *Tong-siou* to Peking, the distance is twelve miles, and from Peking to *Yuen-min-yuen* about seven.

The presents and baggage were lodged in two great pandals built for the purpose in the suburbs near the river. Each of them was two hundred and seven feet long, and thirteen feet broad, thirteen feet from the ground to the rafter or wall plate, and thirteen feet from the ground to the middle angle of the roof. The materials were strong bamboos, and close matting impervious to the rain; between the pandals was a passage or street of forty-two feet wide: the whole was shut up with gates at each end, guards posted there, and placards stuck up forbidding any person from approaching the place with fire. These pandals were erected in a very few hours. Every thing belonging to us was landed from thirty-seven vessels, in less than one day. Such expedition, strength and activity for the removal of so great a number of packages, many of which were of enormous weight, awkward shape, and cumbersome carriage, in a few hours, cannot, I believe, be paralleled or procured in any other country than China, where every thing is at the instant command of the state, and where the most laborious tasks are undertaken and executed with a readiness and even a cheerfulness which one would scarcely expect to meet with in so despotic a government. The Chinese seem able to lift and remove almost any weight by multiplying the power; thus they fasten to the sides of the load two strong bamboos, if two are not sufficient, they cross them with two others, and so proceed, quadrating and decussating the machine, and applying more bearers, till they can master and carry it with ease.

Our quarters were in the suburbs of the city at a *Miao* or temple, consisting of several courts and spacious apart-

ments. Here we were all very commodiously lodged during the time we stayed, and as usual supplied abundantly with whatever we had occasion for.

This Temple or *Miao* was founded by a munificent bigot, some centuries ago for twelve bonzes, and endowed with considerable revenues. The sanctum sanctorum forms but a small part of the building, and is solely appropriated to the worship of the images of Fo and his subaltern deities. The rest is a kind of choultry or caravansera, where travellers of rank are lodged in their journeys through this place upon public service. My train was so numerous that we took up almost the whole of the Temple; only one bonze remained in it to watch over the lamps of the shrine—all the rest removed to another temple in the neighbourhood. The Chinese government, (I speak in a general sense of those who administer the government,) though all under one omnipotent head, have, in fact, no national established state religion. They leave the people to follow the accidental superstition of their education and places of nativity; but wisely obviate the mischiefs that might arise from it, as much as possible, by turning it to public utility, by quartering useful subjects upon useless devotees, by frustrating the intention, without forbidding the practice, of mortmain, and by converting the follies of the dead to the benefit of the living.

Sunday, August 18th. *Van-ta-gin* called upon me this morning at breakfast, and told me that the porters and waggon would be all ready on Tuesday, that our things might begin moving early on that day, and be all carried away be-

fore the following night. He added, that we should set out ourselves on Wednesday morning, pass through Pekin, and proceed to *Yuen-min-yuen*, where a Calao of high rank was appointed by the emperor to meet us, together with a European missionary. He could not inform me of the name or nation of the missionary, but I suspect him to be Bernardo Almeyda, the Portuguese whom we had been so often cautioned against.

Van-ta-gin and *Chou-ta-gin* both came together to visit me in the evening, and brought me the Tartar's excuse for his not accompanying them, saying that he was somewhat indisposed; but it would seem that his staying away proceeded rather from pride and ill humor, than from real illness. I however sent a very civil compliment to him on the occasion, expressive of my concern at his illness and of my intention to visit him the next day.

Monday, August 19th. I went down to the pandals this morning, where I met the Tartar legate, *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, and several other Mandarines, who were assembled there to give orders for the operations of the next day. On this occasion I proposed to amuse them with the exercise of our small brass field pieces, which were now mounted and prepared for moving with the rest of our presents and baggage. Though they were remarkably well cast, and of a most elegant form, fixed on light carriages, and in every respect completely well appointed and well served, and fired from twenty to thirty times in a minute, yet our conductors pretended to think lightly of them, and spoke to us as if

such things were no novelties in China. I have good-reason, however, to suppose that there is nothing like them in the whole empire, and that these gentlemen are at bottom not a little mortified by this small specimen of our art and superiority.

On our return from the pandals, *Lun-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* walked up with us to our quarters, and told us that the emperor's answer was come to our request of having a European missionary to attend us, and that we might chuse any of the Europeans in the emperor's service then at Pekin : That the emperor was disposed to favour us, as much as possible, having already conceived the highest esteem for us, from the accounts he had heard of our appearance, deportment, and conversation ever since our arrival in his dominions. They then renewed the subject of the ceremonial, relative to which they had been perfectly silent for several days ; it seems to be a very serious matter with them, and a point which they have set their hearts upon. They pressed me most earnestly to comply with it ; said it was a mere trifle, kneeled down on the floor, and practised it of their own accord to shew me the manner of it, and begged me to try whether I could not perform it. On my declining it, they applied to my interpreter to do it, who, though a Chinese, said he could only act as I directed him : they seem a little disappointed in finding me not so pliant in this point as they wished. As to themselves, they are wonderfully supple, and though generally considered as most respectable characters, are not very scrupulous in regard to veracity, saying and unsaying, without hesitation, what seems to

answer the purpose of the moment. Their ideas of the obligations of truth are certainly very lax; for when we hinted to them any contradictions that occurred, or deviations from their promises in our affairs, they made very light of them, and seemed to think them of trifling consequence. We entertained them with a concert of music, which they appeared to be much pleased with; and when they left us repeated the same flattering expressions and compliments which they had set out with in the beginning of their visit. This night died of a dysentery, after a long illness, Henry Eades, a cunning artist in brass and iron, who, hearing of my intention to take with me to China a person of this branch, had strongly importuned both me and Sir George Staunton in London, to give him a preference to other candidates. Finding him well qualified, I consented, and had reason to be well satisfied with him, as he was not only skilful and ingenious, but a quiet well-behaved man. As the sea did not seem to agree with him at the beginning of our voyage, I proposed to him to return from Madcira; but he unfortunately determined to persevere.

Tuesday, August 20th. Eades was buried this morning, all the servants, musicians, and guards attending his interment; the funeral service was read upon the occasion, and a volley of small arms was fired over his grave. Vast numbers of Chinese were spectators of the ceremony, and seemed to be a good deal affected by its order and solemnity. After it was over our baggage began to move, and a great part of it was dispatched before night.

Wednesday, August 21st. We rose very early this morning, and found the palankins, horses, carriages, and everything ready for our departure*. The Tartar legate, *Van-ta-gin*, *Chou-ta-gin*, and several other Mandarines of rank waited for us at the great gate, and set off at the same moment that we did. We passed through the city of *Tong-siou*, which is of great extent, encompassed with very high walls, washed by the river on one side, and defended by a broad wet ditch on the other. There are no guns mounted on the ramparts, nor did I observe any thing of that sort, except a few small swivels near the gates. It took us above two hours to get through the town; several of the streets are

* Note of the number of men, waggons, and horses, &c. employed in carrying the presents, baggage, stores, &c. of the embassy and suite from *Tong-siou* to *Tuen-min-yuen*.

	Waggons.	Horses.	Men
For the stores	{ 43	149	43
	{ 39		78
			1300
			500
			500
For the guard	12	30	
For the suite and servants	{ 30	30	42
Four palankins for the ambassador, &c.			32
		209 Horses.	2495
124 Carriages of which 85 waggons and 39 hand-carts.			

These were all for the use of the embassy, exclusive of the vast number belonging to the Mandarines and other attendants.

broad and straight, and the shops on each side often present a gay, picturesque appearance; but we observed no magnificent houses or distinguished buildings. A few triumphal arches are erected in the principal streets, which have an agreeable effect, but they are, merely of wood, painted, gilded, and varnished. In many places awnings of mats are extended across from house to house, as a shelter from the sun and rain, which are easily drawn backward and forward by small cords, as the state of the weather may require. We stopped at a village half way between *Tong-siou* and *Pekin* to breakfast, and to repose ourselves, the day being very hot, and the roads very dusty. From thence we reached *Pekin* in about two hours, (six miles,) and after taking some refreshments of tea and fruit at the palace-gate, we proceeded to *Yuen-min-yuen*, where we arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon, and found the greater part of our baggage already come; the remainder soon followed. The road from *Tong-siou* to *Pekin*, and from *Pekin* to *Yuen-min-yuen*, passes through a fine level country, is very broad and bordered with trees on each side, chiefly willows of great size, much beyond any I have ever seen in *Europe*. The middle part of the road is a causeway, or flat pavement, about seven or eight yards wide, composed of large stones cut smooth, many of them twenty feet in length, and three or four feet broad. On the way from *Tong-siou* to *Pekin* we crossed the river over a most beautiful bridge of white marble forty feet wide. There are five arches, the center one, I suppose, not less than sixty to seventy feet. On this journey we were preceded by a great number of soldiers, brandishing long whips in their hands, which they were continually exercising in

order to keep off the enormous crouds which incessantly thronged about us, and obstructed the passage. The suburbs of Pekin are very extensive; we were fifteen minutes from our entering the east suburb to the east gate; we were above two hours in our progress through the city; fifteen minutes from the west gate to the end of the west suburb, and two hours from thence to *Yuen-min-yuen*. The house at this last place allotted for our habitation, consists of several small courts and separate pavilions, ~~and~~ is situated in a little park, or garden, laid out in the Chinese manner, with serpentine walks, a narrow winding river forming an island, with a summer-house in the middle of it, a grove of various trees, interspersed with a few patches of grass-ground, diversified with inequalities and roughened with rocks; the whole surrounded with a high wall, and guarded by a detachment of troops at the gate. Some of the apartments are large, handsome, and not ill-contrived; but the whole building is so much out of repair, that I already see it will be impossible to reside in it comfortably during the winter. It appears indeed to be only calculated for a summer dwelling, though I understand it is the best of the hotels at this place, destined (as several more are) for the reception of foreign ambassadors.

We had been promised that the European missionaries should come to us, as soon as we arrived here; but none of them have as yet made their appearance.

Thursday, August 22d. The Tartar legate came this morning to compliment me on my arrival at *Yuen-min-yuen*.

He said that there was a Calao on the road from Gehol, particularly appointed to attend to our affairs; and that he would send one or two European missionaries to me to-morrow. As the legate seemed to be in better humor than usual, I took the opportunity of mentioning the subject of my quarters, which I told him were very handsome, but somewhat out of repair, and rather inconvenient to us Europeans, whose modes of living were different from the Chinese, and that I hoped he would give directions for our removal to Pekin, where I thought we should be more at our ease. He seemed to agree with me on this point, and said he thought there could be no objection.

Friday, August 23d. This day the Tartar legate sent to announce his intention of visiting me, and of bringing several European missionaries with him. He accordingly arrived at ten A. M. with Bernardo Almeyda, Rodriguez, and another Portuguese; Poiret, Pansi, and Diodati, Italians; Paris, a Frenchman; and one or two others. The emperor had, on occasion of the embassy, distinguished some of these missionaries by his favors, and had conferred white buttons on Poiret and Diodati, and a blue one (which is of higher rank) on Bernardo--this latter is the person against whom I had been particularly cautioned from Macao, and from other quarters, as a man of a malignant disposition, jealous of all Europeans, except those of his own nation, and particularly unfriendly to the English; and indeed I have seen enough this day to convince me of the truth of the representation. This man, who was bred a Jesuit, and is upwards of seventy years old, has been a great

many years in China, and now belongs to the college of mathematics, though of a very limited knowledge in that science. He has some skill in surgery, and having attended the minister *Cho-chang-tong*, who is afflicted with a rupture, availed himself of that circumstance to obtain the emperor's appointment of him to be interpreter to my embassy. Whether from the vanity of being selected for such an office, or from the hope of being able by that means to frustrate its success, I know not, but unfortunately for him, when he was introduced to me for that purpose, it appeared to the legate, and the other attending Madarines, that he was unqualified for the office, being entirely ignorant of the languages most familiar to us. His mortification upon this occasion he had not sufficient temper to conceal, and almost instantly expressed very unfavorable sentiments of the embassy to an Italian missionary who stood near him. As they conversed in Latin, he probably imagined I should not understand, or overhear him, but his looks and his gestures would have been alone sufficient to discover the state of his mind, if his tongue had been silent.

At this visit I reminded the legate of my wishes to remove to Pekin, on which occasion Bernardo very impertinently interfered and advised him against the measure, pretending that it would retard our journey to Gehol, and be otherwise unadvisable: but his objections were overruled by a superior authority, although the legate seemed much disposed to admit them. All the other missionaries seemed shocked at and ashamed of his behaviour, and interposed their endeavours to bring him to a proper composure. During the whole time

I remained perfectly calm, and seemed not to perceive, or to notice his behaviour, but on the contrary was pointed in my civilities to him, and at his going away told him, through the channel of a French missionary, how much I regretted my not understanding the Portuguese language, as it deprived me of the advantage of so able an assistant and interpreter. He came back soon after, and seemed indeed to be a good deal softened, and even gave me assurances of his services and good disposition; but after what I have seen, it is necessary to be uncommonly circumspect. It will be right to cultivate and make use of him, if possible, but it would be egregious folly and duplicity to confide in or depend on him. About an hour after, *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* returned in order to acquaint me that the Calao, *Chun-ta-gin*, a cousin of the emperor, who had been announced to us, was come, and that it was now settled for him and *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* to manage all our affairs, without the interference of the legate. In consequence of this arrangement, *Van-ta-gin*, accompanied by our interpreter and Mr. Maxwell, one of my secretaries, went this evening to Peking to view the palace intended for my residence, and to give directions for putting it into proper order for our reception. Whilst they were employed on this business, *Chou-ta-gin* came to take us to the emperor's palace of *Yuen-min-yuen*, or the garden of gardens (as the name imports), and to ask our opinion of the fittest apartments to contain the globes, the clocks, the lustres, and the planetarium. This place is truly an imperial residence; the park is said to be eighteen miles round, and laid out in all the taste, variety, and magnificence which distinguish the rural scenery of Chinese gardening.

There is no one very extensive contiguous building, but several hundreds of pavilions scattered through the grounds, and all connected together by close arbors, by passages apparently cut through stupendous rocks, or by fairy-land galleries, emerging or receding in the perspective, and so contrived as to conceal the real design of communication, and yet contribute to the general purpose and effect intended to arise from the whole. The various beauties of this spot, its lakes and rivers, together with its superb edifices, which I saw, (and yet I saw but a very small part,) so strongly impress my mind at this moment that I feel incapable of describing them. I shall therefore chiefly confine myself to the great hall, or presence chamber, of the emperor. It is a hundred and fifty feet long and sixty feet wide. There are windows on one side only, and opposite to them is the imperial throne of carved mahogany the logs of which were brought from England, and elevated by a few steps from the floor. Over the chair of state is an inscription in Chinese characters.

Ching—Tha—Quan—Ming—Foo.

The translation of which signifies,

Verus, Magnus, Gloriosus, Splendidus, Felix.

On each side of the chair of state is a beautiful argus pheasant's tail spread out into a magnificent fan of great extent. The floor is of chequered marble, grey and white, with neat mats laid upon it in different places to walk upon. At one end I observed a musical clock that played twelve old English tunes, the Black Joke, Lillibullero, and other airs of the

Beggars' Opera. It was decorated in a wretched old taste with ornaments of crystal and coloured stones, but had been, I dare say, very much admired in its time. On the dial appeared, in large characters, *George Clarke, clock and watch maker, in Leadenhall Street, London.*

This saloon we determined on for the reception of some of our most magnificent presents, which were to be distributed as follows: on one side of the throne was to be placed the terrestrial globe, on the other, the celestial; the lustres were to be hung from the ceiling, at equal distances from the middle of the room; at the north end the planetarium was to stand, at the south end Vulléamy's clocks, with the barometer and Derbyshire porcelain vases, and figures, and Frazer's orrery; an assemblage of such ingenuity, utility, and beauty, as is not to be seen collected together in any other apartments, I believe, of the whole world besides. Before I quit the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen*, I must observe a singularity in the Chinese taste, which has not yet reached us, and which, in truth, is by no means worthy of our copying. Although you ascend to the principal buildings by regular flights of smooth or chiselled stone stairs, yet there are several others, even pavilions of elegant architecture, to which the approach is by rugged steps of rock, seemingly rendered rough and difficult by art, in order to imitate the rude simplicity of nature. In such situations the impropriety is glaring, and argues a sickly and declining taste, meant solely to display vanity and expence. The cost of sending for such enormous masses from the mountains of Tartary must be very great, for in my whole route through the province

of *Pecheli*, from the mouth of the *Pay-ho* to the city of *Pekin*. I did not see a single pebble big enough to make a seal of.

At *Yuen-min-yuen*, we were met by the calao *Keen-san-ta-gin*, who went round the palaces with us, and entertained us with a collation of fruits and sweet-meats, at which the Tartar legate assisted; for, to my great surprize, after what I had been told, I found him at my elbow almost every step I took during the evening. I have reason to believe that he does not mean to resign his charge of us; I suspect he has contrived means of settling the matter with the calao. This will be an unpleasant circumstance, because, as he is a Tartar, and has powerful connexions at court, our friends *Tan-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* are obliged to pay him great deference, and dare not exert themselves in our favor, as much as they are inclined to do. We have, however, found them already very useful to us in many instances.

At eight o'clock Mr. Maxwell returned from *Pekin*, and reported that he had seen, and been all through, the palace at *Pekin* intended for us. It is an immense building, containing eleven courts, and ample room for every purpose we can require.

Saturday, August 24th. Sir George Staunton went to *Yuen-min-yuen*, and took with him Mr. Barrow, Dr. Dinwiddie, Tiebault and Petitpierre, and other artists and workmen, to give them directions about arranging the machinery, and disposing in their proper places the planetarium, the orrery,

globes, clocks, lustres, &c. These gentlemen are to remain for this purpose at *Yuen-min-yuen*, during our journey into Tartary; but it is thought they will not be able to dispatch it in less than six or seven weeks at soonest. Some of the Chinese workmen, not accustomed to handle articles of such delicate machinery, were interrupted in their attempts to unpack them by our interpreter, who told them that till put up and delivered, they must still be considered as under our care. Upon which the legate interposed and said, *no, they are Cong-so, tributes (oblata)* to the emperor, and consequently we had nothing more to do with them. Our interpreter replied, that they were not (*Cong-so*) tributes, but presents (*Sung-lo*). The colao put an end to the conversation by saying, that the expression of *Sung-lo*, or presents, was proper enough. On his return to quarters, our interpreter came to me (as he said) from *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, and told me, that although the emperor's allowance for defraying the embassy was very considerable, yet that it did not equal the expence, and that it was expected I should make them a very handsome present to supply the difference. I answered, that I was very willing to do so, and asked him what he thought they would be satisfied with. Upon recollecting himself a little, he said, he believed that five hundred dollars a-piece would be a proper sum; which I made no scruple immediately to agree to, as they so strongly profess themselves our friends, as they certainly have weight with the colao sufficient, we trust, to counteract the legate's practices with him to our prejudice, and as, if they misbehave, we shall have them at our mercy; besides, being engaged in our business, and having once tasted

of our bounty, they are likely to endeavor to deserve further favor by further services; as it is observed of certain beasts of prey that, having once smacked human blood, they never afterwards have a relish for any other.

Sunday, August 25th. Notwithstanding what I have written in the preceding paragraph, our interpreter told me this morning that he was then just come from *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, who desired him to say that, though they had the highest respect and regard for me, they could not possibly think of accepting any presents of money; that it was true the expence they incurred by their attendance on the embassy was considerable, but that it chiefly fell upon *Chou-ta-gin*, who was very rich and well able to bear it; that *Van-ta-gin* was not rich, and did not therefore contribute to it; but then he had the principal share of the fatigue of the business, in reviewing and stationing the boats, hiring the porters, horses and carriages, superintending the provision department, punishing delinquents, &c. whilst *Chou-ta-gin* did little else than receive the reports, write out the register, and pay the disbursements. All this seems very extraordinary, and I know not how to account for it; first, to signify a disposition to take our money, and then to refuse it, at the same time preserving their friendship for us, and actually rendering us every service in their power.

The Chinese character seems at present inexplicable. The Tartar legate having delivered to me yesterday a letter, written by Sir Erasmus Gower from *Ten-chou-fou*, which had

come by the emperor's couriers, I directed an answer to be prepared and requested to have it forwarded. He asked me what was in Sir Erasmus's letter, and in the answer; I had them both interpreted off hand, and added, with great good humor, that we had no secrets but what he was welcome to know.

Before he went away, he mentioned the subject of the ceremonial, and was desirous of practising it before me; but I put an end to the subject by telling him I had a paper relative to it, which would be ready to deliver to him at Peking in a day or two.

Monday, August 26th. This morning we removed to Peking, and are not only comfortably but most magnificently lodged in the Tartar town, in a vast palace consisting of eleven courts, some of them very spacious and airy.

It took us an hour and a half to come from *Yuen-min-yuen* to the suburbs; and from thence to our habitation an hour and a half more. It is situated, as all the private houses here are, in a narrow lane, the great streets being entirely occupied by shops or public buildings.

Tuesday, August 27th. Father Raux, a French missionary of the congregation of St. Lazarus at Paris, a native of Hainault, came and informed me that he had permission to attend us, and that he would wait upon me every day to receive our commands and execute our commissions. He is

a tall corpulent man, of easy manners and conversation, with a great volubility of speech. He understands both the Chinese and the Mantchoux languages, and seems to be perfectly contented with his lot here. He is well informed, extremely communicative, and fond of talking, so that I imagine it will not be difficult to learn from him every thing he knows.

Wednesday, August 28th. Mr. Barrow returned from the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen*, and said that they had put up in the saloon of the throne Parker's two lustres, had set the globes in their proper places, as also the orrery and Vulleamy's clocks, figures, and vases, and had laid the floor for the planetarium, and that the whole would have a very fine effect. Three of the emperor's grandsons had been to look at them, and were much delighted with the sight. They particularly admired the clocks and the vases of Derbyshire porcelain. They, however, asked which we thought, our porcelain or theirs, to be preferable; the answer returned to them was, that ours was considered as very precious of its kind, otherwise it would not have been offered to the emperor, but that the value we set upon theirs was easily to be seen by the great quantities, which were every year purchased by our merchants at Canton, and sent in our shipping to England; and they seemed to be very well satisfied with this indirect explanation. The great Mandarin attended, and appeared to be much struck with the attention manifested by our bringing several spare glasses for the dome of the planetarium, one of the panes of which happened to be

cracked, and which, without such a precaution, could not be repaired in China.

Thursday, August 29th. This day I put up the state canopy and their Majesties pictures in the presence chamber, and delivered my paper relative to the ceremonial to be transmitted to Gehol. I had experienced a good deal of difficulty in persuading Father Raux to get it translated into Chinese, and to put it into the proper diplomatic form, so much is every person here afraid of intermeddling in any state matter without the special authority of government; and he only consented on condition, that neither his writing nor that of his secretary should appear, but that I should get it copied by some other hand. Little Staunton was able to supply my wants on this occasion, for having very early in the voyage begun to study the Chinese under my two interpreters, he had not only made considerable progress in it, but had learned to write the characters with great neatness and celerity, so that he was of material use to me on this occasion, as he had been already before in transcribing the catalogue of the presents. In the paper I expressed the strongest desire to do whatever I thought would be most agreeable to the emperor, but that being the representative of the first monarch of the western world, his dignity must be the measure of my conduct; and that in order to reconcile it to the customs of the court of China, I was willing to conform to their etiquette, provided a person of equal rank with mine were appointed to perform the same ceremony before my sovereign's picture, that I should perform before

the emperor himself. The legate shook his head, but *Tan-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* said it was a good expedient, and offered immediately to go through the ceremony themselves on the spot; but as they had no authority for the purpose, I civilly declined their proposal.

I received a very kind letter and message, together with his portrait, from old father Amyot, who has been near sixty years in China, lamenting that his age and infirmities prevented him from coming to wait upon me, but expressing the strong interest he takes in the success of my embassy, and promising me every information, advice, and assistance in his power.

Friday, August 30th. Having now nearly completed the selection of such presents as I judged most eligible to carry with me to Gehol, I gave notice to the legate and our other conductors that we should be ready to set out on Monday next the 2d of September (which, according to their method of computation, answers to the 27th of the seventh month, their year beginning on the 1st of February): and that I proposed to employ one of the intervening days in viewing the buildings, triumphal arches, and other things most worthy of observation in the city of Peking; but I found I had miscalculated in this instance as much as I had done on some former ones of a similar nature, for I was requested to repress my curiosity till my return from Tartary, as it was improper that an ambassador should appear in public at Peking, till after he had been presented to the emperor. On this occasion the question was repeated to me, what present

I meant to offer the emperor from myself, for that instead of the chariot, which I had mentioned to them before, it would be proper to provide something portable to be delivered into the emperor's hands by my own, at the time of my introduction, no ambassador approaching him for the first time without one. I told them I was prepared with one, and that when my baggage was all unpacked, I would shew it to them. I was a good deal at a loss what to fix upon, all the principal articles that we had brought having been already inserted in the catalogue, and announced to them as presents from the king. Luckily it happened that Captain Mackintosh had with him some watches of very fine workmanship, which he was persuaded to cede to me, at the usual estimate of profit upon things of this kind brought for sale from Europe to Canton. This was the more fortunate, as I had been informed besides, that not only valuable presents were to be made to the emperor, but also that his sons and the principal great men in the ministry expected to be gratified in the same manner. The persons pointed out to me were, *Pa-ye*, *Che-y-ye*, *Che-ou-ye*, and *Chet-si*, the emperor's sons; *Mien-eul-ye* his eldest grandson; the great general *Achong-tong*; and *Cho-chan-tong*, and *Fou-li-ou*, the two favorite ministers; *Li-pau-chong-chou*, the president of the court of rites, and a few others. I was however told at the same time, that nothing of this kind was to be offered 'till my return from Gehol, after the emperor had seen and accepted the presents destined for him.

When father Raux came to day, as usual, to attend me, he brought me a present from his convent of several accept-

able articles, some excellent French bread, sweetmeats, and confections, very fine large figs, and a quantity of grapes both red and white, the latter of a most delicious flavor and without stones.—He told me that they were originally brought to the Jesuits garden from *Sha-moo* on the borders of the great desert of Cobi, on the north western frontier of the empire, and had much improved by the transplantation. From him I learnt more particularly, what I had been already told by *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* relative to the state of the court, and I understand that the emperor has had twenty sons, four only of which now remain alive; that he is of so jealous a nature that no person as yet knows with certainty which of them he intends for his successor. He does not allow any of them to interfere in his government, but manages it in a great measure alone, reading all the dispatches himself, and often entering into the minutest detail of affairs. His principal minister is *Cho-chan-tong*, a Tartar of obscure origin but considerable talents, whom he has raised by degrees from an inferior post in his guards to his present elevation, having been struck with the comeliness of his person at a review twenty years ago, and confirmed in the prepossession, by finding his character correspond to his figure. He is in such high favor, that the emperor not long ago gave one of his daughters in marriage to this minister's eldest son, and conferred on him many other marks of distinction. The second favorite minister is the *Fou-li-ou*, a young Tartar, whose elder brother has, by his means, also obtained in marriage a daughter, or niece of the emperor, and several of the most important employments in the state, having been commander

in chief in the war of Formosa, viceroy of Canton, and latterly general of the forces on the Thibet frontier.

The *A-cou-i* or *Al-chang-tong*, whose exploits are so particularly celebrated in the *Memoires sur la Chine*, has a still higher rank of precedence than the minister whom I have mentioned ; but being much advanced in years, and notwithstanding his great merits, far from being a personal favorite of the emperor, he now lives a good deal retired and seldom meddles in public affairs.

The three other colaos of the first tribunal of state are men of great abilities, and of long experience, but being of Chinese families, possess little influence, though their opinions are highly respected.

Father Raux says, that there are above five thousand Chinese Christians in the city of Peking alone, and he computes the number throughout the whole empire at a hundred and fifty thousand. He confirmed to me what we read of in most of the histories of China, that it is a common practice among the poor to expose their children. The police sends a cart round a city at an early hour every morning, which takes them up and conveys them to a fossé, or cemetery appointed for their burial. The missionaries often attend and preserve a few of these children, which appear to them to be healthy and likely to recover. The rest are thrown indiscriminately dead or alive into the pit. But father Raux assured me very seriously that his brethren al-

ways first christened those that appeared to have any life remaining in them, *pour leur sauver l'ame*. The Chinese, he says, seem to be less jealous of religious conversions than formerly, owing to the discretion of the present missionaries, whose zeal, I presume, is not now quite so ardent as that of their predecessors. Nevertheless they engage not a little of the attention of government, and within this twelvemonth past, all their letters which usually went free by the common post between Peking and Canton have been constantly opened and examined. The Chinese have indeed an indistinct idea of there being at this time great disturbances and rebellions in Europe, and the legate has often repeated the question to me on our road, whether England was really at peace with all the world, as I had asserted.

The bishop of Peking had permission to visit me this day in form; he is a Portuguese of about forty years old, of a dignified appearance and conciliating manners, but said to be of a false and crafty nature, and to possess no great measure of learning. He however speaks Latin with great fluency, and made me a speech in that language of a quarter of an hour long. He was attended by two Portuguese missionaries, and by several others of different nations, and in their presence made me the strongest professions of friendship and attachment; several of them however take an early opportunity of advising me not to trust him. I think, indeed, there is some reason, from what I have seen, to believe that the Portuguese have formed a sort of system to disgust and keep out of China all other nations. Between them and the rest of the missionaries, there appear to be great jealousy and

ennuity, *odium plusquam theologicum*. In a conversation with an Italian a few days ago, he told me that all the missionaries, except the Portuguese, were our warm friends: but that the Portuguese were friends of nobody, but themselves. Bernardo Almeyda has never come near me since our first meeting at *Yuen-min-yuen*, but I understand that he has been sent for to Gehol.

Saturday, August 31st. Father Grammont, the French missionary from whom I received the two letters at *Tien-sing*, and also some intelligence since my arrival at Peking, visited me in the afternoon, apologized for not having done it sooner, owing, as he said, to a jealousy entertained of him by the legate on account of his having talked so much on the subject of the embassy, of the power and grandeur of the English nation, of the magnitude of its commerce with, and its importance to, the Chinese empire. Father Grammont was bred a Jesuit, is now advanced in years, and has been a long time in China. He is certainly a very clever fellow, and seems to know this country well; but as he is said to be of a restless, intriguing turn, it is necessary to be a good deal on one's guard with him.

Sunday, September 1. Busily employed this day in making preparations for our journey to Gehol, as we are to set out to-morrow. To the occurrences at Peking, which I have already noted, I must now add, that besides our conductors and the missionaries, we were every day visited by numbers of Mandarines of the highest rank, some engaged to it by the duty of their stations and employments, others

allured by curiosity, and not a few by my band of music, which performed a very good concert in one of my apartments every evening. Among these visitors was the chief Mandarin of the emperor's orchestra, who attended constantly and listened to the performance with all the airs of a virtuoso. He was so much pleased with some of our instruments, that he desired leave to take drawings of them. I was willing to give them to him as a present, but he civilly declined my offer, and I found indeed they would have been of no use to him. He, however, sent for a couple of painters, who spread the floor with a few sheets of large paper, placed the clarionets, flutes, bassoons and French horns upon them, and then traced with their pencils the figures of the instruments, measuring all the apertures and noting the minutest particulars, and when this operation was completed they wrote down their remarks, and delivered them to their master. I was told that his intention is to have similar instruments made here by Chinese workmen, and to fit them to a scale of his own. The Chinese have long since adopted our violin, although it is not yet very common, and have lately learned to note their music on ruled paper, which seems to shew that there are some things, at least, which, notwithstanding their vanity and conceit, they are not above being taught. They were totally ignorant of punctuation, till they observed it in their Chinese books, printed by the Jesuits, for the instruction of youth; since which it is now frequently used by many of the first scholars in the empire.

But what seemed to attract more general notice, than any thing in the house, were the king and queen's pictures in

their royal robes, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, which were hung up opposite the state canopy, in the grand saloon through which we usually passed to the concert room. Indeed so very great was the crowd of people to see them, as soon as they came to be talked of, that I was obliged to apply to *Van-ta-gin* to regulate the number and quality of the visitors, and the hour of admittance.

Their admiration has been also much excited by the presents and specimens of different manufactures which we have to distribute, and by the various little articles of use and convenience, which Europeans are accustomed to, our dressing-tables, shaving-glasses, and pocket-instruments; but we have been sometimes sufferers a little on these occasions from the eagerness of their curiosity, and from their awkwardness in handling them. The flexible sword-blades of Mr. Gill's manufactory at Birmingham, they were particularly struck with; and *Van-ta-gin*, to whom, as a military man, distinguished by wounds and long service, I gave a couple, seemed more pleased with them than if I had offered him any other present of one hundred times the value. I am persuaded that if we can once introduce them into China, as an article of trade, there will be a very great demand for them. I know it is the policy of the East India Company to increase principally the export of the coarser woollens, and I have little doubt that in a few years, China will call for more of them than we can easily supply; but I would recommend also the sending out our very finest cloths (for what we call superfine in the invoices are really not the very finest) together with assortments of kerseymeres and

vignonias. Those we wore ourselves I observed every body greatly admired. The emperor has lately permitted cloth to be worn in his presence in the spring and autumn, that is to say, from the 1st of October, to the 20th November, and from the 1st of February to the 1st of April. Light silk is the dress of summer, and satins or damask, lined with fine furs, of the winter.

It being all settled that we should set out early to-morrow to Gehol, the colao *Keen-sa-ta-gin*, attended by two Mandarines of high quality with red buttons on their caps, came late this evening to wish me a good journey, and to repeat, that the emperor was impatient to see us, having particularly remarked and being much pleased with our prudence and circumspection in having desired a separate hospital at Chusan for the sick people of the Lion, and a boundary line to be drawn in order to prevent the sailors from straggling. The emperor, he said, highly approved of it, and had given orders that Sir Erasmus Gower should do as he wished, that he might stay there as long as he pleased and go away when he pleased. From all this it is evident that every circumstance concerning us and every word that falls from our lips are *minutely reported and remembered*.

Monday, September 2d. At six o'clock A. M. we began our journey. Young Staunton and myself travelled in a neat English post chaise which I had provided, and which was drawn by four little Tartar horses not eleven hands high, being, I believe, the first piece of Long-acre manufactory that ever rattled upon the road of Gehol. Sir George Staunton having a touch

of the gout went in a palankin, the other gentlemen of my train, as also the servants, musicians, artists, guards, &c. were accommodated with horses or carriages, in such manner as they preferred. Our whole cavalcade amounted to seventy persons, of which forty composed the guard; the rest amounting to twenty-one remained behind, some being employed in putting together and arranging the presents at *Tuen-min-yuen*, and the others either invalids or attendants necessary to be left behind to take care of the house during our absence. To carry the presents and our beds and baggage, I dare say, exclusive of horses and carriages, there were at least two hundred porters employed, who regularly made the same daily journeys that we did. From my hotel, through the city of Peking to the gate, are four miles and a half, and from thence our first stage was of five miles to *Ching-ho*, a small fort enclosed with a wall, where we breakfasted. There are several cross roads leading into the country in all directions. From *Ching-ho* are eleven miles to *Lin-coo*, a little village where the emperor has built a lodge for stopping at when he travels this way; six miles and a half farther stands the palace of *Nant-chut-see*, which terminates our first day's journey. The road hitherto is pretty straight over a sandy level, which seems to have been anciently covered with the sea, though now fifty or sixty miles from it; on each side every cultivable inch is cultivated. We observed the *Holcus Sorgum*, *Panicum Crusgalli*, *Panicum milliaceum* and *Italicum*, horse beans, horse peas, and sesamum, all sown in drills, between which another successive crop was often rising in the same ground. Scarcely any trees to be seen, but the crack willow with a very rough bark (*salix fragilis*) which even in this sandy soil

grows to a vast size; two or three ashes and a few mulberries of a particular species. To the northwest of *Lin-coo* we crossed the river which, though narrow, is yet deep enough in summer to admit the passage of the Chinese boats, of which several are employed on it. Its course, like all the other rivers in this tract, runs to the southward and eastward. *Nan-chut-see* is situated at the foot of the mountains, which here approach very near one another, and form a pass of nearly a mile across. They are not varied, like the mountains of *Chan-tong*, by bold elevations and depressions, but present a long russet outline of shallow indentures. In the spring, when the snows melt, I should suppose most of this plain to be under water. During all this day, the neat husbandry of the country, the industry of the people, and the air of business that appears in their faces, the goodness of the road, and the circumstance of travelling in a post-chaise, almost made me imagine myself in England, and recalled a thousand pleasing ideas to my remembrance.

Tuesday, September 3d. From *Nan-chut-see*, which we left this morning at five A. M. we reached the suburbs of *Hoai-zeou-shien*, a city of the third order, (eight miles and a half,) in less than two hours; and after breakfasting there, we in two hours and a half more (twelve miles) came to a palace of the emperor near *Min-yu-shien*, a city of the third order also, where we propose to sleep. The road much the same as yesterday. The mountains were tumbled about very agreeably, and must have a cheerful appearance when clothed with verdure; at present they are very brown and dusky. They have not the slightest volcanic character, but

much resemble the mountains about Vellore in the Carnatic, being of various shapes and magnitudes, each standing on its own basis, and rising singly from a circumferent level, and often crowned with trees and pagodas. Some of them appeared to have been originally conical, and rounded off or shortened by the lapse of time. At about two-thirds of the way, between *Hoi-zeou-shien* and *Mien-yu-shien*, we passed a river (whose course is southward) over a bridge built on caissons of wattles filled with stones. I understand that such bridges are very common in this part of the country. The caissons are of different dimensions according to the spread* of the flood: they are from four to eight feet broad, and their lengths are equal to the width of the bridge. The distances between them also vary. They are usually about once and a half the breadth of the caissons. The caissons are fixed by perpendicular spars more or less frequent, according to the depth of the river and rapidity of the current. In broad, or navigable streams, this caisson work is discontinued in the middle, and large flat-bottomed boats are substituted. Over the whole are laid planks, hurdles, and clay. When the emperor is expected to pass, additional bridges are constructed. Near this place a part of the great wall, stretching over a high steep hill, was visible on our left, distant about nine or ten miles from the road.

This evening a Tartar officer of high rank, and commander of the troops in this district, paid us a visit and brought a small present of fruit and sweetmeats; a sensible gentlemanlike man and sufficiently informed, as appeared in his conversation, of the pre-eminence of Great Britain in Europe,

as a civilized, ingenious, and powerful nation. *Van-ta-gin*, though decorated with the same button and of the same military rank, yet would scarcely venture to sit down in his presence, so great is the respect affected by the Chinese towards the Tartars of the court.

Wednesday, September 4th. Our first stage this morning from *Mien-yu-shien*, was about six miles and a half to a bonze's temple called *Kiow-song-chang*, and our next was of fifteen miles to *You-chin-sa*, where we have dined and shall sleep. Near this palace is a small walled town called *Che-siou*, resembling, in the mode of its fortification and defence, most of the other cities which we have passed through in China. And here I must say a word or two on the subject of them: they have usually four or five rectangular projections from each front, according to their size, answering the purpose of bastions, and are about a hundred yards from each other. They contain generally three or four embrasures in front and two in each flank, and are distant from centre to centre three yards. The walls are from twenty-five to thirty-five feet high; the gates are defended by projections of different figures and dimensions, but usually of forty or fifty yards square; sometimes the angles are taken off by a curve, and sometimes the whole projection is semicircular. This space is entered from without in some instances in the front, but oftener in one of the flanks. A second gate then opens into the town, in the middle of that side of the inclosure that is formed by the city wall. These are, I understand, the general principles of defence that prevail in China. The walls are seldom surrounded by a regular ditch, or strength-

ened by outworks. Where these cities happen to stand upon a canal, a small branch of it is sometimes led round them. Artificial mounts are often to be found within short commanding distances, probably raised in very ancient times. I never saw artillery mounted on the walls of any of these fortified towns, and I suspect they have none in their arsenals. *Chou-ta-gin* says it is not necessary, as no enemies with artillery are to be apprehended. The chief use therefore of walled towns at present is for securing the treasure, tributes, and taxes of the emperor as they are received, for the protection of the public granaries, and for the safety of the prisons. The road this day, though very rough, has been pleasant and romantic; it is uphill the whole way and so, I find, it will continue to Gehol. Cultivation now is seldom practicable except on the edges of rivers. Great numbers of goats and horses appear from time to time on the mountains, and run along the most dangerous precipices without apprehension or accident. In the course of these last two days, both *Vdn-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* took their turns to come into the post-chaise with me, and were inexpressibly pleased and astonished with its easiness, lightness, and rapidity, the ingenuity of the spring, and the various contrivances for raising and lowering the glasses, curtains, and jealousys.—At one place where I alighted, I saw a beautiful weeping willow hanging over a sweet pastoral stream on one side of the road; it measured fifteen feet in the girth, at eight feet above the ground.—It came out in conversation that the legate has never dispatched my letter to Sir Erasmus Gower, and this day he has returned it to me, with a trifling excuse for not sending it away. He said, it did not appear from

what I told him to be of any importance, and in truth it was of very little. What can be the meaning of this? To-morrow he is to leave us, in order that he may get to Gehol a day or two sooner, and have things ready there for our reception.

Thursday, September 5th. From *You-chin-sa* to *Cou-pee-kiou*, where we stopped to breakfast, are thirteen miles. About the half way, the road ascends a steep hill and passes through *Min-nan-tien*, which stands on the summit, and signifies the gate of the southern Heaven. Between *Min-nan-tien* and the great wall, which now begins to shew itself, is a valley of considerable extent and of uncommon picturesque beauty, watered by a clear winding stream. The sides of the valley are formed by rocky mountains, not sloping but rising almost perpendicularly at right angles from the plain. These mountains, gradually approaching almost close to the passage, leave only a narrow defile or ravine, through which there is barely room for the road and a small rivulet that runs in the bottom. Across the road is built a tower of eighteen feet wide (with the gate in the centre) and forty-five feet long. This pass had been formerly quite closed by the side walls of the tower continuing up the hills, both on the east and west, but on the latter it is now open; for both the arch, through which room had been left for the stream to flow, and the wall raised upon the arch, have been destroyed, and there now appears a complete disruption of the whole from top to bottom. Through the lower gate we proceeded on for a considerable way, I suppose near a thousand yards, through a large extent of ground with several houses built upon it.

and enclosed by high walls connected with the great one, till we came to another gate, and from thence to the town of *Cou-pe-kiou*, which is very populous, and strongly enclosed by two or three rows of walls, which at a few miles distance converge together, and unite with the main one. After breakfast we set out from *Cou-pe-kiou*, in order to visit this celebrated wall, which we had heard such wonders of, and after passing through the outermost gate on the Tartar side, we began our peregrination on foot, there being no other method of approach. In less than half an hour, after travelling over very rough ground, we at last arrived at a breach in the wall, by which we ascended to the top of it. I shall here minute down all the particulars relative to it, which I can either recollect myself, or have been reminded of by my companions.

The wall is built of a bluish colored brick, not burned but dried in the sun *, and raised upon a stone foundation, and, as measured from the ground on the side next Tartary,

* *Note*.—From the color of the brick, we were led to imagine that they had not felt the fire, but I have been since assured from good authority that they were certainly burnt in a kiln.

I have received the following opinion on this subject from Doctor Gillan.

The appearance and color of the bricks of the great wall of China gave reason to suspect that they had never been burnt in kilns, but only baked in the sun. As they have so long resisted the influence of time and weather, it appeared worth while to ascertain the fact by experiment. It is now well known from Mr. Wedgwood's experiments, that any mass of clay or brick always contracts in all its dimensions, when exposed to the action of fire; that this contraction increases in proportion as the heat is increased, and that the mass does not return to its former dimensions after it is withdrawn from the fire, but remains in the same state of contraction till it be exposed afresh to another degree of heat superior to that in which it had been before. From these facts, it was easy to ascertain whether the bricks of the great wall had been burnt, or only baked in the sun.

it is about twenty-six feet high in the perpendicular. The stone foundation is formed of two courses of granite, equal to twenty-four inches. From thence to the parapet, including the cordon, which is six inches, are nineteen feet four inches, the parapet is four feet eight inches. From the stone foundation to the cordon are fifty-eight rows of bricks, and above the cordon are fourteen rows; and each row, allowing for the interstices of the mortar, and the insertion of the cordon, may be calculated at the rate of four inches per brick. Thus then fifty-eight and fourteen bricks, equal to seventy-two, give two hundred and eighty-eight inches, or

EXPERIMENT FIRST.

A piece of the brick was cut into the form of a cube, and its dimensions accurately measured by means of a graduated scale and compass, before it was put into the fire. It was then put into a common kitchen fire of wood, where it remained for an hour. As the heat of such a fire is much greater than what the bricks could have received from baking in the sun, the cube must have contracted very considerably had it not been originally burnt, as bricks usually are. Upon taking it out of the fire, it was found not to have suffered any dimension of size, or change of color. This experiment proved that the brick must have originally undergone a heat at least equal to that of a kitchen fire, and consequently that they were burnt in kilns.

EXPERIMENT SECOND.

The same cube was afterwards put into a fire of pit-coal, which was blown by a bellows, so as to excite a white heat. It was left in the fire about three quarters of an hour, and when taken out, it was found very sensibly contracted in all its dimensions, and had become of a dark red color.

This experiment proved the general proposition, and shewed that the brick had not originally been exposed to so great a heat as that of the forge fire. The change of color was owing to two causes, partly to the greater calcination of the iron existing in the original clay of the brick, and partly to the iron contained in the ashes and scoræ of the pit-coal.

H. G.

twenty-four feet, which, together with the stone foundation, make twenty-six feet. The wall on the inside, I presume, measures nearly the same. At the bottom the walls are five feet thick, and diminish gradually as they rise, being only two feet four inches at the cordon, and one foot and a half at the top of the parapet. The space or *terrepleine* between the walls, which is filled with earth and rubbish up to the level of the bottom of the cordon, and paved with square bricks, is eleven feet in the clear, so that there is room for two coaches or five horsemen abreast. This great wall is strengthened and defended by square towers at one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet distance. They are of different dimensions. I entered one which projected eighteen feet from the rampart on the Tartar side; there is no projection on the Chinese ^{by comp.} It is forty feet long at the bottom, and gradually diminishes ^{as to form} a square of only thirty feet at the *terrepleine*. The perpendicular height is about thirty-six feet eight inches. This tower stands on four courses of stone, each course equal to fourteen inches, which gives fifty-six inches, or four feet eight inches; and above the stone work to the top of the parapet are ninety-six rows of brick, which at four inches to each brick, and making allowance, as before, for the cordon, produce three hundred and eighty-four inches, or thirty-two feet. Total thirty-six feet eight inches. The parapet of the wall is cut with embrasures at nine feet distance from centre to centre, and there are loop holes between the embrasures of twelve inches long and ten wide, and scarped away below, which appear much better calculated for musquetry than for arrows. This circumstance, together with that of the soles of the embrasures of the tower being pierced, as we observed, with small

holes, similar to those used in Europe for receiving the swivels of wall-pieces, would seem to countenance a conjecture that the Chinese had the use of some sort of fire arms in very ancient times ; for all their writings agree that this wall was built above two hundred years before the Christian era.

It is carried on in a curvilinear direction, often over the steepest, highest, and craggiest mountains, as I observed in several places, and measures upwards of one thousand five hundred miles in length from its commencement in the gulph of *Pe-che-li* in the province of *Lea-tong*, east of Peking, to its termination in the province of *Chen-si*, west of Peking.

If the other parts of it be similar to those which I have seen, it is certainly the most stupendous work of human hands, for I imagine, that if the outline of all the masonry of all the forts and fortified places in the whole world besides were to be calculated, it would fall considerably short of that of the great wall of China. At the remote period of its building, China must not only have been a very powerful empire, but a very wise and virtuous nation ; or at least to have had such foresight, and such regard for posterity, as to establish at once what was then thought a perpetual security for them against future invasion, chusing to load herself with an enormous expence of immediate labor and treasure, rather than to leave succeeding generations to a precarious dependance on contingent resources. She must also have had uncommon vigilance and discernment, so as to profit by every current event, and to seize the proper moment of tranquillity for executing so extensive and difficult an enterprize. But be-

sides a defence against her enemies, she possibly had other objects in view. She might intend it to shut out from the fertile provinces of China the numerous and ferocious beasts of the wilds of Tartary, to ascertain and fix her boundary, and to prevent emigration. Till the establishment of the present dynasty on the throne, she seems to have entertained no projects of foreign conquests; and it is still a favorite point of her policy to confine her subjects within the limits of the empire. Those who depart from China without licence are inevitably punished with the utmost rigor, if ever brought back. The wall is still, in some places which I saw, quite perfect and entire, and looks as if recently built, or repaired, but in general it is in a ruinous condition, and falling fast to decay, very little care being taken to preserve it. Indeed, at present, its utility in point of defence seems to be almost at an end; for the emperor now reigning has extended his territory so far beyond it, that I doubt whether his dominions without the wall are inferior to those within it.

It was not without a little management that we contrived to examine this wall so much at our leisure, for some of our conductors appeared rather uneasy, or impatient at the length of our stay upon it. They were astonished at our curiosity, and almost began to suspect us, I believe, of dangerous designs. *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, though they had passed it twenty times before, had never visited it but once, a few of the other attending mandarines had never visited it at all.

• From *Cou-pe-kion* are eleven miles to *Liou-king-fong*, which ends this day's journey. A little incident has happened at

this place which strongly marks the jealousy that subsists between the Chinese and the Tartars. A Tartar servant of the lowest class attending at the palace, had, it seems, stolen some of the utensils furnished for our accommodation, and when taxed with the theft by *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, answered with so much impertinence, that they ordered him to be smartly bamboozed on the spot. The moment he was released, he broke out into the most insolent expressions, and insisted that a Chinese mandarine had no right to bamboozle a Tartar without side of the great wall. The punishment was however repeated, and in such a manner as to make him not only restore the stolen goods, but repent, I believe, of his topographical objection to it. I suspect, however, that there was some sort of ground for his distinction, but that the commission of our conductors was sufficiently extensive to overrule it, and supersede any local immunities*. *Chou-ta-gin* tells me he has every reason to believe that my proposal relative to the ceremonial will be approved of.

Friday, September 6th. Our journey to-day was very short, it being only thirteen miles from *Liou-king-fong* to *Ching-chang-you*, where we mean to sleep. The farther we advance among the mountains, we find the weather grow colder. It was remarkably sharp this morning, although yesterday the thermometer (Fahrenheit's) stood at 82, and at 78 the day before. We now observe many people with very large goitres or wens growing on the outside of their

* On this occasion *Van-ta-gin* could not help saying to our interpreter, "A Tartar will always be a Tartar."

throats, as in the Valais and the Tirol. The snow lies here several months in the year, and to the use of snow water the Chinese attribute this deformity ; how justly I know not, but it is certain that there are no goitres to be seen in the southern provinces, where probably the waters are not less impregnated with the tufa stone than in the northern ones. The country here indeed has a very Alpine appearance, much resembling Savoy and Swisserland. This evening our interpreter amused us with an extract from one of the *Tien-sing* gazettes, which seem to be much on a par with our own newspapers for wit and authenticity. In an account given there of the presents said to be brought for the emperor from England, the following articles are mentioned : Several dwarfs, or little men, not twelve inches high, but in form and intellect as perfect as grenadiers ; an elephant, not larger than a cat ; and a horse the size of a mouse ; a singing bird as big as a hen, that feeds upon charcoal, and devours usually fifty pounds per day ; and, lastly, an enchanted pillow, on which, whoever lays his head, immediately falls asleep ; and if he dreams of any distant place, such as Canton, Formosa, or Europe, is instantly transported thither, without the fatigue of travelling. This little anecdote, however ridiculous, I thought it would not be fair to leave out of my journal.

Saturday, September 7th. From *Chin-chan-you* are eleven miles to *Wan-ka-you*, where we stopt to breakfast ; and from *Wan-ka-you* to *Co-la-cho-you* are seven miles more ; here we have dined and propose to sleep. The road to-day has been very rough and stony. The country opens and grows less romantic, but still pleasant.

Sunday, September 8th. This morning we set out from *Co-la-cho-you*, which is twelve miles from Gehol, and observed, as we passed, a very remarkable appearance on the right hand of the road, called *Schwang-ta-shang*; it is a double rock on the top of a high hill, rising up quite bare from its base, somewhat resembling what the Needles were a few years since. It is perforated in two places, the one near the bottom, and the other equidistant from the top. The height of the highest part of the rock from the base is about two hundred and thirty feet. We stopped at *Quon-ur-long*, two miles short of Gehol, in order to dress and marshal the procession for my public entry. It was arranged in the following manner, and made a very splendid shew:

An hundred Mandarines on horseback.

Lieutenant-colonel Benson.

Four Light Dragoons.

Four Light Dragoons.

Lieutenant Parish.

Drum. Fife.

Four Artillery Men.

Four Artillery Men.

Four Artillery Men.

A Corporal of Artillery,

Lieutenant Crew.

Four Infantry.

Four Infantry.

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Four Infantry.

Four Infantry.

A Serjeant of Infantry.

Two Servants in a rich green and gold livery.

Two Servants in Ditto.

Two Servants in Ditto.

Two Servants in Ditto.

Two Couriers in Ditto.

Two Musicians in Ditto.

Two Musicians in Ditto.

Two Musicians in Ditto.

Two Gentlemen of the Embassy	} In a uniform of scarlet embroidered with gold
Two Gentlemen of the Embassy	
Two Gentlemen of the Embassy	

Lord Macartney	} In a chariot.
Sir George Staunton and Son	
A Servant in livery behind Ditto.	

We were near two hours from *Quon-ur-long* to the palace, prepared for us at Gehol, which is spacious and convenient. All the baggage, presents, &c. &c. were already arrived before us.

Being now at the end of our journey, I shall here insert a few notes and observations, before I proceed to a detail of our transactions at this place.

Abstract of the Route from Pekin to Gehol.

	Eng. Miles
From the Ambassador's house to the gate	4½
From Pekin to <i>Ching-ho</i>	5
To <i>Lin-coo</i>	11
To <i>Nan-chut-see</i>	6½
To <i>Hoai-ziou-kien</i>	8½
To <i>Men-yu-kien</i>	12
To <i>Kiou-song-chang</i>	6½
To <i>You-chün-sa</i>	15
To <i>Cou-pe-kiou</i>	13
	<hr/> 82

Enter Tartary.

From <i>Cou-pe-kiou</i> to <i>Leon-king-fong</i>	11
To <i>Ching-chan-you</i>	13
To <i>Wan-ka-yeu</i>	11
To <i>Cola-cha-you</i>	7
To <i>Quon-ur-long</i>	10
To the Ambassador's house at Gehol	2
	<hr/> 54
	<hr/> Total 136

Our journey upon the whole has been very pleasant and, being divided into seven days, not at all fatiguing. At the end of every stage we have been lodged and entertained in the wings or houses adjoining to the emperor's palaces. These

palaces, which occur at short distances from each other on the road, have been built for his reception, on his annual visit to Tartary. They are constructed upon nearly the same plan, and in the same taste. They front the south, and are usually situated on irregular ground, near the bases of gentle hills, which, together with their adjoining vallies, are inclosed by high walls, and laid out in parks and pleasure grounds with every possible attention to picturesque beauty. Whenever water can be brought into the view, it is not neglected; the distant hills are planted, cultivated, or left naked, according to their accompaniments in the prospect. The wall is often concealed in a sunk fence, in order to give an idea of greater extent. A Chinese gardener is the painter of nature, and though totally ignorant of perspective as a science, produces the happiest effects, by the management or rather pencilling of distances, if I may use the expression, by relieving or keeping down the features of the scene, by contrasting trees of a bright, with those of a dusky foliage, by bringing them forward, or throwing them back, according to their bulk and their figure, and by introducing buildings of different dimensions, either heightened by strong coloring, or softened by simplicity, and omission of ornament.

The common road from Peking to Gehol is, in general, pretty good for the two first days, but I must observe, that there is another road parallel to it, which is laid off for the sole use of the sovereign, no other person being permitted to travel upon it, a circumstance of imperial appropriation, which I do not recollect even in Muscovy or Austria. As the

emperor is expected to return to Peking in the latter end of this month, the repair of this road is already begun, and we calculated that in the hundred and thirty-six miles, from Peking to Gehol, above twenty three thousand troops were employed upon it. They are usually divided into working parties of ten men to every hundred yards.

Almost close to the road, at various distances, are towers or military posts (about one to every five miles) each post having from six to fifteen soldiers attached to it, who all turned out, as we passed along, and fired a salute for us from three small chambers of iron, fixed vertically in the ground, while a brass gong rattled upon the parade, and a yellow flag fluttered on the battlements.

The garrison of Gehol, during the emperor's residence, is about a hundred thousand men.

Gehol, Sunday, September 8th continued. Soon after we arrived at this place, the legate came and gave me back my paper about the ceremonial, and said that if I delivered it myself to the minister I should receive the answer. Our interpreter also came and told me from *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, that the emperor had seen my entry and procession from one of the heights of his park, and was much pleased with them; and that he had immediately ordered the first minister and another colao to wait upon me. In the mean time *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* themselves arrived and told me, that as there would not be sufficient room in my apartment for all the first minister's suite, the first minister hoped I

would excuse him from coming to me in person, and that it would be the same thing if I would be so good as to go to him: he added, that the first minister had received a hurt in his knee, which rendered it inconvenient and painful to him to move much about. It being very hot weather, and the servants greatly hurried and fatigued with the operations of the day, and our baggage, &c. not being yet unpacked, or put into order, I excused myself with a civil compliment, but told them, that if there was any business necessary to mention immediately, Sir George Staunton should attend the first minister in the evening. They then informed me, that the Tartar legate had been censured by the emperor, for some misrepresentations with regard to the embassy, and had been already punished by a degradation of three ranks*. Soon after several Mandarines of high rank came to visit me, some of them wearing yellow vests, which are marks of particular favor from the emperor.

The minister having signified a desire this afternoon of seeing Sir George Staunton, he immediately went with his son and our interpreter to the minister's house, which is above a mile from my hotel, having passed through a great part of the town of Gehol in his way to it. There he found the legate at the door, who conducted him to an apartment where the minister was sitting, attended by four other colacs, all having

* The emperor having heard, that I had his picture in my cabin on board the "Lion, asked the legate whether it was like him, upon which it came out that the legate had never been near the Lion, which he had been ordered to visit. It was said, that he was afraid of the water, and therefore would not venture, not suspecting that his omission would be discovered.

red buttons on their caps, and two of them dressed in yellow vests. On Sir George's return, I found that the minister's objects were to know the contents of the king's letter to the emperor (of which a copy was accordingly promised to be given to him), and to contrive means of avoiding, if possible, the compliments to his majesty, in return for my compliance with the Chinese ceremony, as proposed in my paper, which it was apparent the minister had seen before the legate had given it back to me. Sir George now delivered it to the minister officially from me.

Monday, September 9th. The legate, *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* came this morning to urge me to give up the reciprocal compliment I demanded, but I dwelt upon the propriety of something to distinguish between the homage of tributary princes, and the ceremony used on the part of a great and independent sovereign. I understand privately that the emperor is not acquainted with the difficulties that have arisen on this subject, but that when he is, the matter will probably be adjusted as I wish.

Tuesday, September 10th. This day the legate, *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* renewed the conversation of yesterday, relative to the ceremony, in the course of which I told them it was not natural to expect that an ambassador should pay greater homage to a foreign prince than to his own liege sovereign, unless a return were made to him that might warrant him to do more. Upon which they asked me, what was the ceremony of presentation to the king of England? I told them it was performed by kneeling upon one knee, and kiss

ing his majesty's hand. Why then, cried they, can't you do so to the emperor? Most readily, said I; the same ceremony I perform to my own king, I am willing to go through for your emperor, and I think it a greater compliment than any other I can pay him. I shewed them the manner of it, and they retired seemingly well satisfied. In the afternoon *Chou-ta-gin* came to me alone, and said that he had just seen the minister, and had a long conference with him upon this business; the result of which was, that either the English mode of presentation (which I had shown them in the morning), or the picture ceremony should be adopted; but he had not yet decided which. I said nothing.—Soon after the legate arrived, and declared that it was finally determined to adopt the English ceremony, only, that as it was not the custom of China to kiss the emperor's hand, he proposed I should kneel upon both knees instead of it. I told him I had already given my answer, which was to kneel upon one knee only, on those occasions when it is usual for the Chinese to prostrate themselves. Well then, said they, the ceremony of kissing the emperor's hand must be omitted. To this I assented, saying, as you please; but remember it is your doing, and, according to your proposal, is but half the ceremony; and you see I am willing to perform the whole one. And thus ended this curious negotiation, which has given me a tolerable insight into the character of this court, and that political address upon which they so much value themselves.

Wednesday, September 11th. At half past nine A. M. the legate, *Fan-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* came to my house to attend me to the minister or chief colao. His palace is very

spacious, and consists of several courts, through which we passed before we arrived at his apartment, which is small, and has nothing magnificent in furniture or appearance. He received us with great affability, and seemed, as Sir George Staunton told me, quite a different sort of person from what he appeared a few days before. He is a handsome fair man, of about forty to forty-five years old, quick and fluent. On his right hand was the *Fou-liou*, a handsome fair man also, of about thirty years old; and on his left hand two old Chinese colaos, one the president of the court of rites, and the other the president of the tribunal of finance, and at the end of all was another great man in a yellow vest, but who did not seem to be of equal authority with the others.

I began by saying that, being now recovered from the fatigue of my journey, I was happy to have an early opportunity of waiting upon him, and expressing my wishes to present the king's letter to the emperor as soon as possible, every difficulty being now obviated. I said that, in the mean time, I had made many inquiries about the emperor's health, and was rejoiced to hear that it was so good as to promise long life to him, and consequently much happiness to his subjects, and that it would give sincere pleasure to the greatest sovereign in the west to hear such good news from me of the greatest sovereign of the east. The minister made some compliments in return, and said, that on account of the very great distance from which the embassy had been sent, and of the value of the presents, some of the Chinese customs (which had hitherto been invariably observed) would now be relaxed, and that I might perform the ceremony after the manner of

my own country, and deliver the king's letter into the emperor's own hands. So now these preliminary difficulties are over, and Saturday next, being a great festival at court, is fixed on for the day of my introduction. In the course of this conversation, which lasted a considerable time, he asked me questions relative to our voyage; where we had stopped in our way, and for what purposes? Having mentioned our putting in at Turon Bay, in Cochinchina, for water, he observed to me that that country was a tributary and dependance of China. He inquired how far England was from Russia, and whether they were good friends together, and whether Italy and Portugal were not near England and tributary to it.

I explained to him the distance between England and Russia in Chinese measure, and repeated that we were at present at peace with all the world, and with the empress of Russia, as well as with others, but that there did not seem to be the same cordiality of late as formerly, on account of the king of England (who is a lover of peace and justice, and a friend of the distressed) having once interfered to repress a spirit of encroachment shewn in some of her measures with regard to Turkey. As to Italy and Portugal, they were not tributaries of England, but from the same motives of general justice and equity before mentioned, the king of England had often afforded them protection, and shewn them marks of his friendship. When I rose to go away, the minister took me by the hand, and said he should be happy to cultivate my acquaintance, and hoped to have frequent opportunities of seeing me familiarly at *Yuen-min-yuen*, as the bustle and hurry of business, and the festivals of the empe-

ror's anniversary must necessarily engage the greater part of his time, whilst the court remained at Gehol.

In the afternoon our friends *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* visited us, and repeated a great many flattering things, which they assured us the minister had said of us, and that he had made so favorable a report to the emperor, that he was quite impatient for Saturday. Then the Tartar arrived, and brought us a present of fruit and sweetmeats from the minister, with a compliment similar to that brought by *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*.

We employed the rest of the day in getting the presents put in order.

Thursday, September 12th. And this day they were sent to the palace to be viewed. Soon after the legate came to visit me, and brought another present of fruit and sweetmeats, but seemed much out of humour.

Friday, September 13th. *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* called on us to say, that the presents were much approved, but it was wished that somebody might be sent to shew how the telescopes were to be put up and used; upon which Dr. Gillan and our interpreter went and taught the eunuchs how to join them together, to adjust the day and night glasses, and to manage the rack work. Notwithstanding their complete ignorance, these gentry pretended to understand, at half a word, all the machinery of these instruments; but Dr. Gillan did not leave them, till he thought he had really made them masters of it. To-morrow being the grand festival at court,

and the day appointed for our first presentation, we are busily employed in getting ready for the occasion.

Saturday, September 14th. This morning at four o'clock A. M. we set out for the court under the convoy of *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, and reached it in little more than an hour, the distance being about three miles from our hotel. I proceeded in great state with all my train of music, guards, &c. Sir George Staunton and I went in palankeens, and the officers and gentlemen of the embassy on horseback. Over a rich embroidered velvet, I wore the mantle of the Order of the Bath with the collar, a diamond badge and a diamond star. Sir George Staunton was dressed in a rich embroidered velvet also and, being a doctor of laws in the university of Oxford, wore the habit of his degree, which is of scarlet silk full and flowing. I mention these little particulars to shew the attention I always paid, where a proper opportunity offered, to oriental customs and ideas. We alighted at the park gate, from whence we walked to the imperial encampment, and were conducted to a large handsome tent prepared for us on one side of the emperor's. After waiting there about an hour, his approach was announced by drums and music, on which we quitted our tent, and came forward upon the green carpet. He was seated in an open palankeen, carried by sixteen bearers, attended by numbers of officers bearing flags, standards, and umbrellas; and as he passed, we paid him our compliments, by kneeling on one knee, whilst all the Chinese made their usual prostrations. As soon as he had ascended his throne, I came to the entrance of the tent and, holding in both my hands a large gold box enriched with diamonds, in which was inclosed the king's letter, I walked deliberately

up and, ascending the side steps of the throne, delivered it into the emperor's own hands who, having received it, passed it to the minister, by whom it was placed on the cushion. He then gave me, as the first present from him to his majesty, the *ju-eu-jou* or *giou-giou*, as the symbol of peace and prosperity, and expressed his hopes that my sovereign and he should always live in good correspondence and amity. It is a whitish agate-looking stone about a foot and a half long, curiously carved, and highly prized by the Chinese ; but to me it does not appear in itself to be of any great value.

The emperor then presented me with a *ju-eu-jou*, of a greenish colored stone, and of the same emblematic character, at the same time he very graciously received from me a pair of beautiful enamelled watches set with diamonds, which I had prepared in consequence of the information given me, and which having looked at, he passed to the minister.

Sir George Staunton whom, as he had been appointed minister plenipotentiary to act in case of my death or departure, I introduced to him as such, now came forward, and after kneeling on one knee, in the same manner which I had done, presented to him two elegant air guns, and received from him a *ju-eu-jou*, of greenish stone, nearly similar to mine; other presents were sent at the same time to all the gentlemen of my train. We then descended from the steps of the throne, and sat down upon cushions at one of the tables on the emperor's left hand ; and at other tables, according to their different ranks, the chief Tartar princes, and the Mauda-

rines of the court at the same time took their places, all dressed in the proper robes of their respective ranks. These tables were then uncovered, and exhibited a sumptuous banquet. The emperor sent us several dishes from his own table, together with some liquors, which the Chinese call wine, not however expressed from the grape, but distilled or extracted from rice, herbs, and honey. In about half an hour he sent for Sir George Staunton and me to come to him, and gave to each of us, with his own hands, a cup of warm wine, which we immediately drank in his presence, and found it very pleasant and comfortable, the morning being cold and raw. Among other things, he asked me the age of my king and, being informed of it, said he hoped he might live as many years as himself, which are eighty-three. His manner is dignified, but affable and condescending, and his reception of us has been very gracious and satisfactory. He is a very fine old gentleman, still healthy and vigorous, not having the appearance of a man of more than sixty. The order and regularity in serving and removing the dinner was wonderfully exact, and every function of the ceremony performed with such silence and solemnity, as in some measure to resemble the celebration of a religious mystery. The emperor's tent or pavilion, which is circular, I should calculate to be about twenty-four or twenty-five yards in diameter, and is supported by a number of pillars either gilded, painted, or varnished, according to their distance and position. In the front was an opening of six yards, and from this opening a yellow fly tent projected, so as to lengthen considerably the space between the entrance and the throne. The materials and distribution of the furniture within at once displayed grandeur and elegance. The ta-

pestry, the curtains, the carpets, the lanthorns, the fringes, the tassels, were disposed with such harmony, the colors so artfully varied, and the light and shades so judiciously managed, that the whole assemblage filled the eye with delight, and diffused over the mind a pleasing serenity and repose undisturbed by glitter or affected embellishments.

The commanding feature of the ceremony was that calm dignity, that sober pomp of Asiatic greatness, which European refinements have not yet attained.

I forgot to mention, that there were present on this occasion three ambassadors from Tatzi or Pegu, and six Mahomedan ambassadors from the Kalmucks of the south-west; but their appearance was not very splendid. Neither must I omit that, during the ceremony, which lasted five hours, various entertainments of wrestling, tumbling, wire-dancing, together with dramatic representations, were exhibited opposite the tent, but at a considerable distance from it.

Thus then have I seen *King Solomon in all his glory*. I use this expression, as the scene recalled perfectly to my memory a puppet-shew of that name, which I recollect to have seen in my childhood, and which made so strong an impression on my mind, that I then thought it a true representation of the highest pitch of human greatness and felicity.

Sunday, Sept. 15th. The emperor having been informed that, in the course of our travels in China, we had shewn a

strong desire of seeing every thing curious and interesting, was pleased to give directions to the first minister to shew us his park, or garden, at Gehol. It is called, in Chinese, *Fan-shou-yuen*, which signifies the paradise of innumerable trees. In order to have this gratification (which is considered as an instance of uncommon favor) we rose this morning at three o'clock, and went to the palace, where we waited, mixed with all the great officers of state, for three hours (such is the etiquette of the place) till the emperor's appearance. At last he came forth borne in the usual manner by sixteen persons, on a high open palankeen, attended by guards, music, standards, and umbrellas without number; and observing us, as we stood in the front line, graciously beckoned us to approach, having ordered his people to stop; he entered into conversation with us and, with great affability of manner, told us that he was on his way to the Pagoda, where he usually paid his morning devotions; that as we professed a different religion from his, he would not ask us to accompany him, but that he had ordered his first minister and chief colaos to conduct us through his gardens, and to shew us whatever we were desirous of seeing there. Having expressed my sense of this mark of his condescension in the proper manner, and my increasing admiration of every thing I had yet observed at Gehol, I retired; and whilst he proceeded to his adorations at the Pagoda, I accompanied the minister, and other great colaos of the court, to a pavilion prepared for us, from whence, after a short collation, we set out on horseback to view this wonderful garden. We rode about three miles through a very beautiful park, kept in the highest order, and much

resembling the approach of Luton in Bedfordshire; the grounds gently undulated, and chequered with various groupes of well contrasted trees in the offskip. As we moved onward an extensive lake appeared before us, the extremities of which seemed to lose themselves in distance and obscurity. Here was a large magnificent yacht ready to receive us, and a number of smaller ones for the attendants, elegantly fitted up, and adorned with numberless vanes, pendants, and streamers. The shores of the lake have all the varieties of shape, which the fancy of a painter can delineate, and are so indented with bays, or broken with projections, that almost every stroke of the oar brought a new and unexpected object to our view; nor are islands wanting, but they are situated only where they should be, each in its proper place, and having its proper character: One marked by a pagoda, or other building; one quite destitute of ornament; some smooth and level; some steep and uneven; and others frowning with wood, or smiling with culture. Where any things particularly interesting were to be seen we disembarked, from time to time, to visit them; and I dare say that, in the course of our voyage, we stopped at forty or fifty different palaces or pavilions. These are all furnished in the richest manner, with pictures of the emperor's huntings and progresses, with stupendous vases of jasper and agate; with the finest porcelain and japan, and with every kind of European toys and sing-songs; with spheres, orreries, clocks, and musical automats of such exquisite workmanship, and in such profusion, that our presents must shrink from the comparison, and *hide their*

diminished heads. And yet I am told, that the fine things we have seen are far exceeded by others of the same kind in the apartments of the ladies, and in the European repository at *Yuen-min-yuen*. In every one of these pavilions was a throne or imperial state, and a *ju-cu-jou*, or symbol of peace and prosperity placed at one side of it, resembling that which the emperor delivered to me yesterday for the king.

It would be an endless task were I to attempt a detail of all the wonders of this charming place. There is no beauty of distribution and contrast, no feature of amenity, no reach of fancy which embellishes our pleasure grounds in England, that is not to be found here. Had China been accessible to Mr. Brown, or Mr. Hamilton, I should have sworn they had drawn their happiest ideas from the rich sources which I have tasted this day; for, in the course of a few hours, I have enjoyed such vicissitudes of rural delight, as I did not conceive could be felt out of England, being at different moments enchanted by scenes perfectly similar to those I had known there, to the magnificence of Stowe, the softer beauty of Wooburn, and the Fairy-land of Pain's Hill. One thing I was particularly struck with, I mean the happy choice of situation for ornamental buildings. From attention to this circumstance, they have not the air of being crowded or disproportioned; they never intrude upon the eye; but wherever they appear, always shew themselves to advantage; and aid, improve, and enliven the prospect.

In many places the lake is overspread with the ninuphar, or lotus (*Nymphaea*) resembling our broad-leaved water-lily. This is an accompaniment, which, though the Chinese are passionately fond of cultivating it in all their pieces of water, I confess, I do not much admire. Artificial rocks and ponds, with gold and silver fish, are perhaps too often introduced; and the monstrous* porcelain figures of lions and tigers, usually placed before the pavilions, are displeasing to an European eye; but these are trifles of no great moment, and I am astonished that now, after a six hours' critical survey of these gardens, I can scarcely recollect any thing besides to find fault with.

At our taking leave of the minister he told us, that we had only seen the eastern side of the gardens; but that the western side, which was the larger part, still remained for him to shew us, and that he should have that pleasure another day.

Of the great men who accompanied us in this tour, the principal were, 1st. The minister, or great colao, *Cho-chang-tong*. 2d. The *Fou-liou*, or second minister. 3d. His brother, *Fou-chan-tong*, formerly viceroy of Canton, but lately named viceroy of Sechuen.; and, 4th. *Sun-ta-gin*, a young man of high quality, all Tatars, and, if I may use the expression, knights of the yellow vest.

Sun-ta-gin had, not long since, been employed on the frontiers of Russia, to accommodate the disputes with that nation.

and knowing that I had been formerly the king's minister at Petersburg, he talked to me a good deal about his own mission. He said, that he had negotiated at *Kiachta* with a great Russian general, who wore a red ribband and a star like mine, and they very soon understood each other, and concluded their business. He was particularly pointed in his civilities to us, seemed very intelligent, and asked many proper questions, relative to the riches and power of Russia. It would seem as if he had been selected on purpose to try the extent of my knowledge, or of my sincerity, by comparing my answers with his own notions upon the subject.

During the whole course of the day, the first minister, or colao, paid us very great attention, and displayed all the good breeding and politeness of an experienced courtier, though I am afraid I can already perceive that his heart is not with us, for, on my mentioning to him this morning, as we rode along, that the creation of such a paradise as Gehol, in so wild a spot, was a work worthy of the genius of the great *Cam-shee*, he seemed to be quite astonished how I came to know that it was undertaken by *Cam-shee*, and asked me, who told me so. I said, that as the English were a wise and learned nation, and acquainted with the history of all countries, it was not to be wondered at, that they should be particularly well informed of the history of the Chinese, whose fame extended to the most distant parts of the world. Notwithstanding this compliment was a natural and a flattering one, he did not seem to me to feel it so; and I suspect that at bottom he rather wonders

at our curiosity, than esteems us for our knowledge. Possibly he may consider it as impertinent towards them, and useless to ourselves.

The *Fou-liou*, or second minister's deportment towards us was very gracious. Not so that of his brother, which was formal and repulsive. I mentioned above that he had been viceroy of Canton, and it would appear that he has not been an inattentive observer of European manners and character. I could not avoid remarking it this morning, for happening to be next to me at the moment I approached the emperor, and perhaps not thinking me quick enough in my motions, he pulled me by the sleeve, and, at the same time, though with an air of complaisance and respect, touched my hat with his hand to indicate his wishes that I should take it off on the occasion, a thing that could scarcely have occurred to any of his brother courtiers, as the salutation of the hat is entirely an European custom, and only used by Europeans, the Asiatics never uncovering their heads, even in the presence of their most elevated superiors. Well aware of his connections and consequence, I was desirous of conciliating him to our interests, and endeavored to sooth his vanity on the points where he was thought most accessible. I told him that I had often heard of his reputation as a warrior, and therefore I hoped that the exercise of my guard and their military evolutions, with the latest European improvements, might afford him some pleasure and entertainment; but he declined the proposal with great coldness, and a mixture of unseasonable vanity, saying, that nothing of that kind could be a novelty to him, though

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I have no doubts whether he ever saw a firelock in his life: at least, I am sure, I have never yet seen any thing above a match-lock among all the troops in China. But another accident, in the course of our tour, more strongly marked his indisposition toward us. The minister having informed me, that an account was just received of the arrival of the Lion and the Hindostan at *Cheu-san*, I seized the opportunity of requesting, that Captain Mackintosh (in whose ship the greater part of the presents for the emperor had been brought) having paid his obeisance to the emperor, might be permitted to proceed, and join his ship at the port where she now lay, but *Fou-chong-tong* interposed and said, that it was improper, and against the laws of China for strangers to be permitted to travel about in such a manner, through the provinces of the empire. Nor could any reasoning of mine, though conveyed to him in the gentlest and most flattering terms, induce him to relax from his opinion, or draw even a smile from him the rest of the day. Whether whilst at Canton he may have met with some unintentional slight, or whether, which is more probable, he may have remarked (for he is certainly a man of capacity) and felt, with regret and indignation, that superiority, which, where ever Englishmen go, they cannot conceal from the most indifferent observer. Finding this moment so unfavorable, I declined pressing the matter further, but requested the minister to allow me a short conference with him, either the next day, or the day following. I found, however, that, though infinitely gracious and civil in his manner and expression, I could gain no ground upon him. He excused himself on account of the approaching ceremony of the birth-

day, and the load of business on his hands requiring dispatch before the departure of the court from Cielol, and repeated to me, as he had done in his first conference, that he hoped to have frequent opportunities of seeing me at *Yuen-min-yüên*, and cultivating my friendship there; I therefore take it for granted, that it has been a settled point from the beginning to do no business with me at Cielol. I, however, before we parted, persuaded him to consent to receive a short note, which I said I should take the liberty of sending him in a day or two. This is now my only resource, and I must therefore set about it without delay.

Monday, September 16th. Having now twice paid our obeisance to the emperor, we conceived, from what had been told us before we left Peking, that we might go freely about and walk abroad without constraint or impediment. To avoid any thing, however, that might commit my character, I continued within doors; but Sir George Staunton, and some of the other gentlemen, made a little excursion into the country to-day; but they were followed the whole way by a number of Mandarines and soldiers, who, though they never attempted to direct their motions, still attended them at no great distance.

Thus I see that the same strange jealousy prevails towards us, which the Chinese government has always shewn to other foreigners, although we have taken such pains to disarm it, and to conciliate their friendship and confidence. Perhaps our conductors are apprehensive, that from the novelty of our appearance, and the singularity of our dress, we may be

subjected to rude ^{*}curiosity, and that some disturbance might arise for which they must be responsible, it being, as I am informed, a maxim of the Chinese government, never to excuse an officer for any accident that may happen in his department.

This morning *Cho-chan-tong*, the first minister, sent for Dr. Gillan, and without hesitation explained to him all his ailments, his rupture, his rheumatism, &c. &c. and desired the Doctor's opinion of his case. The Doctor is now preparing it, and has promised me a copy.

I received a visit this afternoon from a genteel young Tartar, decorated with a smooth red button, and a peacock's feather of two eyes. His Mantchoux name is *Poo-ta-rang*, his Chinese one *Mon-liou*. He affects to be well informed of the geography and history of his country. He told me that the present emperor is descended from *C'o-lo-li*, or, as we call him, Cublai Khan, a son of Gengis Khan, who in the thirteenth century conquered China, and whose family (called the dynasty of *Yeu-tchao*) held it under the Mongul yoke for near one hundred years, till dethroned by the dynasty of *Ming*. The Monguls, who then fled into the country of the Mantchoux, intermarried and mixed with them, and from one of these alliances sprung the Bogdoi Khans, who invaded China in 1640, and have reigned over it ever since. *Poo-ta-rang* says, that all the Tartar princes who dined with us in the emperor's tent, are persons of great consequence, have numerous clans dependant upon them, and can bring large bodies of troops into the field. They are often called upon in

time of war, and have their respective stations, rank, and duty assigned to them under the grand banners of Tartary. Their lands, or fiefs, were formerly hereditary by primogeniture, and are properly so still; but it is now necessary for the eldest son, on the death of his father, to receive a sort of investiture from the emperor, who, if no objection arises, never refuses it. They seem like the honors of the *Casas Titulares* in Portugal. These Tartar princes usually marry the daughters and nieces of the imperial family, and hold a certain rank at court in consequence of the alliance. They are obliged to come every year to attend the emperor's birth-day, and they then return home, being seldom detained, or employed in China in offices that require much literature, as their education is usually directed to military pursuits. Their weapons are chiefly the scymetar, and the bow and arrow, in the exercise of which they are remarkably expert. They seemed ~~greatly~~ deal surprised when I once told them, in answer to their inquiries, that we had left off the use of the bow in Europe, and fought chiefly with fire-arms in its place. The bow is the emperor's favorite instrument of war; and I observe that he is always represented in the pictures as shooting at stags, wolves, and tigers with arrows, and never with a musket.

Poo-ta-rang says that Moukden, or *Chin-yan-tsin*, as the Chinese call it, the emperor's Tartar capital, which is about two hundred miles off, is larger than Peking, and that the emperor has immense treasures there. Scarcely any Chinese have ever been at Moukden, or indeed many miles beyond Gehol.

Tuesday, September 17th. This day, being the emperor's birth-day, we set out for the court at three o'clock A. M. conducted by *Van-ta-gin*, *Chou-ta-gin*, and our usual attendants. We reposed ourselves for above two hours in a large saloon at the entrance of the palace enclosure, where fruit, tea, warm milk, and other refreshments were brought to us. At last notice was given that the festival was going to begin, and we immediately descended into the garden, where we found all the great men and Mandarines in their robes of state, drawn up before the imperial pavilion. The emperor did not shew himself, but remained concealed behind a screen, from whence, I presume, he could see and enjoy the ceremonies without inconvenience or interruption. All eyes were turned towards the place where his majesty was imagined to be enthroned, and seemed to express an impatience to begin the devotions of the day. Slow, solemn music, muffled drums, and deep-toned bells were heard at a distance. On a sudden the sound ceased, and all was still. Again it was renewed, and then intermitted with short pauses; during which several persons passed backwards and forwards, in the proscenium or fore ground of the tent, as if engaged in preparing some *grand coup de theatre*.

At length the great band, both vocal and instrumental, struck up with all their powers of harmony; and instantly the whole court fell flat upon their faces before this invisible Nebuchadnezzar.

“ He in his cloudy tabernacle shrined
 “ Sojourned the while.”

The music was a sort of birth-day ode, or state anthem, the burden of which was, "*Bow down your heads all ye dwellers upon earth, bow down your heads before the great Kien-long, the great Kien-long ;*" and then all the dwellers upon China earth there present, except ourselves, bowed down their heads, and prostrated themselves upon the ground, at every renewal of the chorus. Indeed, in no religion, either ancient or modern, has the divinity ever been addressed, I believe, with stronger exterior marks of worship and adoration than were this morning paid to the phantom of his Chinese Majesty.

Such is the mode of celebrating the emperor's anniversary festival, according to the court ritual. We saw nothing of him the whole day, nor did any of his ministers, I imagine, approach him, for they all seemed to retire at the same moment we did. Of them, the first, or great colao, *Cho-chang-tong*, the *Fou-liou*, the *Fou-liou's* brother, *Foo-chan-tong* and *Sou-ta-gin*, with the other great men who attended us, two days since, in our visit to the eastern garden, now proposed to accompany us to the western, which forms a strong contrast with the other, and exhibits all the sublimer beauties of nature in as high a degree, as the part which we saw before possesses the attractions of softness and amenity.

It is one of the finest forest scenes in the world, wild, woody, mountainous, and rocky, abounding with stags and deer of different species, and most of the other beasts of chase, not dangerous to man.

In many places immense woods, chiefly oaks, pines, and chesnuts, grow upon perpendicular steep, and force their sturdy roots through every resistance of surface and of soil, where vegetation would seem almost impossible. These woods often clamber over the loftiest pinnacles of the stony hills or, gathering on the skirts of them, descend with a rapid sweep and bury themselves in the deepest vallies. There at proper distances you find palaces, banquetting houses, and monasteries (but without houses) adapted to the situation and peculiar circumstances of the place, sometimes with a rivulet on one hand gently stealing through the glade, at others with a cataract tumbling from above, raging with foam, and rebounding with a thousand echoes from below, or silently engulfed in a gloomy pool, or yawning chasm. The roads by which we approached these romantic scenes are often hewn out of the living rock, and conducted round the hills in a kind of rugged stair case, and yet no accident occurred in our progress, not a false step disturbed the regularity of our cavalcade, though the horses are spirited, and all of them unshod. From the great irregularity of the ground and the various heights to which we ascended, we had opportunities of catching many magnificent points of view by detached glances, but after wandering for several hours (and yet never wearied with wandering) we at last reached a covered pavilion open on all sides, and situated on a summit so elevated, as perfectly to command the whole surrounding country to a vast extent. The radius of the horizon I should suppose to be at least twenty miles from the central spot where we stood, and certainly so rich, so va-

rious, so beautiful, so sublime a prospect my eyes had never beheld. I saw every thing before me, as on an illuminated map, palaces, pagodas, towns, villages, farm-houses, plains and vallies watered by innumerable streams, hills waving with woods and meadows covered with cattle of the most beautiful marks and colors. I observed here a vast number of what we call in England *sheet cows*, also sheet horses, many pyeballs, dappled, mottled and spotted, the latter chiefly strawberry. All seemed to be nearly at my feet, and that a step would convey me within reach of them.

From hence was pointed out to us by the minister a vast enclosure below, which, he said, was not more accessible to him than to us, being never entered but by the emperor, his women, and his eunuchs. It includes within its bounds, though on a smaller scale, most of the beauties that distinguish the eastern and western gardens, which we have already seen, but from every thing I can learn, it falls very short of the fanciful descriptions which father Attiret and Sir William Chambers have intruded upon us as realities. That within these private retreats, various entertainments of the most novel and expensive nature are prepared and exhibited by the eunuchs, who are very numerous (perhaps some thousands) to amuse the emperor and his ladies, I have no doubt; but that they are carried to all the lengths of extravagance and improbability those gentlemen have mentioned, I ver^y much question, as from every inquiry I have made (and I have not been sparing to make them) I have by no means sufficient reason to warrant me in acceding to, or confirming the accounts which they have

given us. When I was the king's minister in Russia, several years ago, I remember to have seen at one of the empress's palaces the image of a town, with a number of workshops and warehouses, pretended tradesmen, and the bustle and business of common life represented in a very lively manner, for the amusement of the court, which much more resembled Sir William Chambers's picture, than any thing I have yet seen or heard of in China. If any place in England can be said, in any respect, to have similar features to the western park, which I have seen this day, it is Lowther-hall in Westmoreland, which (when I knew it many years ago) from the extent of prospect, the grand surrounding objects, the noble situation, the diversity of surface, the extensive woods, and command of water, I thought might be rendered by a man of sense, spirit, and taste, the finest scene in the British dominions.

In the course of this day's tour, as in the former, we were entertained at one of the palaces with a collation of pettpates, salt relishes, and other savory dishes, with fruit and sweetmeats, milk and ice-water, and as soon as we rose from table, a number of yellow boxes, or drawers, were carried in procession before us, containing several pieces of silk and porcelain, which we were told were presents to us from the emperor, and we consequently made our bows as they passed. We were also amused with a Chinese puppet-show, which differs but little from an English one. There a distressed princess confined in a castle, and a knight-errant who, after fighting lions and dragons, sets her at liberty and marries her, wedding feasts, jousts, and tournaments. Be-

sides these, there is also a comic drama, in which punch and his wife, bandinccr and scaramouch perform capital parts. This puppet-show, we were told, properly belongs to the ladies apartments, but was sent out, as a particular compliment, to entertain us. One of the performances was exhibited with great applause from our conductors, and I understand it is a favorite piece at court.

I could not help admiring the address with which the minister parried all my attempts to speak to him on business this day, and how artfully he evaded every opportunity that offered for any particular conversation with me, endeavoring to engage our attention solely by the objects around us, directing our eyes to the prospects, and explaining the various beauties of the park and buildings. I nevertheless found an occasion to remind him of the promise to peruse the note, which I meant to send him, and told him, that it would be ready to-morrow. It was now near three o'clock, when, he said, he must take his leave of us; at the same time expressing his concern that affairs of consequence required his attendance, but he added, that he left us under the care of the colao *Sun-tu-gin*, who would accompany us, to the grand pagoda or *Pou-tu-la*, and the others in its neighbourhood.

The *Fou-lion* and his brother went away with the first minister.

These pagodas, which all adjoin the park, are surrounded by a great wall, and each pagoda is in a separate enclosure of its own. I dare say we visited, at least, a dozen of them,

all differently situated, some on gentle elevations, some on the plain, and some on the tops of high hills, approachable only by rocky stairs of difficult ascent, or by long passages leading through gloomy caverns, or under the shadow of enormous rocks which seem to threaten the passenger at every step with instant annihilation. They are all buildings of great extent and magnificence; but *Pou-ta-la*, which may be considered as the grand cathedral, is infinitely superior to the rest in point of magnitude, splendor, and celebrity. It is an immense edifice and, with the offices belonging to it, covers a vast deal of ground (not less than twenty to twenty-five acres) and contains, I should conceive, a greater quantity of materials than St. Paul's. The principal temple, or monastery in it, in which eight hundred lamas, or priests of Fo, are lodged, is a square of four fronts, each front upwards of two hundred feet long, inclosing a quadrangle of above one hundred and thirty feet each side, in the centre of which is the golden chapel, which, including the projection of the roof, is near eighty feet square, and seventy feet high. A spacious corridor below, and open galleries above, connect the apartments of the quadrangle, the depth of which apartments, with the corridor, is forty-seven feet in the clear. The height of the building from the ground on the outside, including the terraces, is two hundred and fifty feet, and consists of eleven stories, three in the terrace and eight above it. In the chapel we found all the monks, or lamas, busily engaged in their devotions, dressed in yellow vestments, with books in their hands, and chanting their liturgy in a kind of recitativo, not unlike our cathedral service, and not disagreeable to the ear. The paraphernalia of

religion displayed here, the altars, images, tabernacles, censers, lamps, candles, and candlesticks, with the sanctimonious deportment of the priests, and the solemnity used in the celebration of their mysteries, have no small resemblance to the holy mummeries of the Romish church as practised in those countries where it is rich and powerful. In the middle of the chapel is a small space railed off, and elevated by three steps above the floor, which presents three altars richly adorned, and three colossal statues, one of Fo, one of Fo's wife, and the other of some great Tartar divinity, whose name I forget, all said to be of solid gold. Behind these altars is the sanctum sanctorum, which is dimly lighted by an expiring lamp, seemingly placed there for the purpose of inspiring religious horror, or exciting pious curiosity. As we approached it, the curtain, which had just before been drawn a little aside, was rapidly closed, as if on a sudden alarm, and shut out the shrine from our profane eyes. This pagoda is dedicated to *Pou-ta-la*, one of the transmigrations of Fo, for Fo, like Brimha, the supreme divinity of the Hindoos, has condescended, from time to time, to leave the heavenly mansions, and to become incarnate among men and beasts in this earthly world below. Hence he is represented in his temples as riding upon dragons, rhinocrosses, elephants, mules, and asses; dogs, rats, cats, crocodiles, and other amiable creatures, whose figures he fancied and assumed, according to the lama mythology, for the edification and instruction of Tartars. There are, in some of these pagodas, a thousand of these monstrous statues, all most horribly ugly, and so ill represented, and so unlike any thing in

heaven or earth, or in the waters under the earth, that one would think they might be safely worshipped even by the Jews without incurring the guilt of idolatry. There are also niches, filled with the images of saints and bonzes, without number, fully sufficient to match the longest catalogue of the Romish calendar. The emperor, it is affirmed, thinks that he is not only descended in a right line from Fo himself, but considering the great length and unparalleled prosperity of his reign, entertains of late a strong notion that the soul of Fo is actually transmigrated into his imperial body, "*Nihil est quod credere de se non possit, &c. &c.*" so that the unbounded munificence he has displayed in the erection of these pagados, may be looked on as not quite so disinterested; for, according to this hypothesis, there has been nothing spent out of the family.

We went up to the top of *Pou-ta-la*, in order to examine the roof of the chapel, which, as our conductors assured us in the most solemn manner, is covered with plates of solid gold. It may be so, but without such an extravagance, so enormous is the profusion of all other expense, so vast the undertaking, and so perfect the execution, that such a monument as *Pou-ta-la*, of grandeur and stability, required not only all the fervour and enthusiasm of the most munificent bigot, but all the exertion and authority of the most powerful and the most opulent monarch of the east. Our expedition of this day, from the time of our leaving home in the morning till our return in the afternoon, lasted upwards of fourteen hours.

Wednesday, September 18th. We went this morning to court, in consequence of an invitation from the emperor, to see the Chinese comedy and other diversions, given on occasion of his birth-day. The comedy began at eight o'clock A. M. and lasted till noon; he was seated on a throne opposite the stage, which projects a good deal into the pit. The boxes are on each side without seats or division. The women are placed above, behind the lattices, so that they can enjoy the amusements of the theatre without being observed. Soon after we came in, the emperor sent for me and Sir George Staunton to attend him, and told me, with great condescension of manner, that we should not be surprised to see a man of his age at the theatre, for that he seldom came there, except upon a very particular occasion like the present, for that considering the extent of his dominions and the number of his subjects, he could spare but little time for such amusements. I endeavored, in the turn of my answer, to lead him towards the subject of my embassy, but he seemed not disposed to enter into it, farther than by delivering me a little box of old japan, in the bottom of which were some pieces of agate and other stones, much valued by the Chinese and Tartars; and at the top a small book written and painted by his own hand, which he desired me to present to the king my master, as a token of his friendship, saying, that the old box had been eight hundred years in his family. He, at the same time, gave me a book for myself, also written and painted by him, together with several purses for Areca nut. He likewise gave a purse of the same sort to Sir George Staunton, and sent some small presents to the other gentlemen of the embassy. After this, several pieces of silk

and porcelain, but seemingly of no great value, were distributed among the Tartar princes and chief courtiers, who appeared to receive them with every possible demonstration of humility and gratitude.

The theatrical entertainments consisted of great variety, both tragical and comical ; several distinct pieces were acted in succession, though without any apparent connection with one another. Some of them were historical and others of pure fancy, partly in recitativo, partly in singing, and partly in plain speaking, without any accompaniment of instrumental music, but abounding in love scenes, battles, murders and all the usual incidents of the drama. Last of all was the grand pantomime, which, from the approbation it met with, is, I presume, considered as a first rate effort of invention and ingenuity. It seemed to me, as far as I could comprehend it, to represent the marriage of the ocean and the earth. The latter exhibited her various riches and productions, dragons and elephants, and tigers, and eagles, and ostriches ; oaks and pines, and other trees of different kinds ; the ocean was not behind-hand, but poured forth on the stage the wealth of his dominions, under the figures of whales and dolphins, porpoises and leviathans and other sea-monsters ; besides ships, rocks, shells, sponges, and corals, all performed by concealed actors, who were quite perfect in their parts and performed their characters to admiration. These two marine and land regiments, after separately parading in a circular procession for a considerable time, at last joined together and, forming one body, came to the front of the stage, when, after a few evolutions, they opened to the right

and left to give room for the whale, who seemed to be the commanding officer, to waddle forward, and who, taking his station exactly opposite to the emperor's box, spouted out of his mouth into the pit several tons of water, which quickly disappeared through the perforations of the floor. This ejaculation was received with the highest applause, and two or three of the great men at my elbow desired me to take particular notice of it, repeating at the same time, *Hao, Hung-hao*, charming, delightful! As the entertainment lasted some hours, and there was an uninterrupted communication between the court boxes, where we were and the others, several of the principal Mandarines took the opportunity of entering into frequent conversation with us, and from what passed I have certainly derived much matter of observation and reflection. It did not escape me that most of these Mandarines were Tartars, scarcely any real Chinese coming near us, but among those that addressed us the most familiarly I particularly remarked two, who appeared to have a more confident and disengaged manner than the rest, and who asked us whether we could speak Persian or Arabic. It seems they were Musselmén and chiefs of those hordes of Calmucks who, not long since, on occasion of some discontent or misunderstanding with Russia, migrated, in great numbers from the coasts of the Caspian to the frontiers of China, and put themselves under the emperor's protection. He gave them a very favorable reception, and has decorated these two leaders, or mirzas, with transparent blue buttons, and peacock's feathers to their caps, as an earnest of his accepting their submission and allegiance. A little before one o'clock P.M. we retired, and at four we returned to

court to see the evening's entertainments, which were exhibited on the lawn, in front of the great tent or pavilion, where we had been first presented to the emperor. He arrived very soon after us, mounted his throne, and gave the signal to begin. There were wrestling, and dancing, and tumbling, and posture-making, which appeared to us particularly awkward and clumsy, from the performers' being mostly dressed according to the Chinese *costume*, one inseparable part of which is a pair of heavy quilted boots, with the soles of an inch thick. The wrestlers, however, seemed to be pretty expert, and afforded much diversion to such as are admirers of the palæstra.

A boy climbed up a pole or bamboo thirty or forty feet high, played several gambols, and balanced himself on the top of it, in various attitudes, but his performance fell far short of what I have often met with in India.

A fellow lay down on his back and then raised his feet, legs, and thighs from his middle perpendicularly so as to form a right angle with his body. On the soles of his feet was placed a large round empty jar, about four feet long, and from two and a half feet to three feet in diameter. This he balanced for some time, turning it round and round horizontally, till one of the spectators put a little boy into it, who, after throwing himself into various postures at the mouth of it, came out and sat on the top. He then stood up, then fell flat upon his back, then shifted to his belly, and after showing a hundred tricks of that sort, jumped down upon the ground and relieved his coadjutor.

A man then came forward and, after fastening three slender sticks to each of his boots, took six porcelain dishes of about eighteen inches diameter, and balancing them separately at the end of a little ivory rod, which he held in his hand, and twirling them about for some time, put them one after the other upon the points of the six boot-sticks above mentioned, they continuing to turn round all the while. He then took two small sticks in his left hand, and put dishes upon them in the same manner as upon the others; and also one more upon the little finger of his right hand, so that he had nine dishes annexed to him at once, all twirling together, which, in a few minutes, he took off one by one, and placed them regularly on the ground without the slightest interruption or miscarriage. There were many other things of the same kind; but I saw none at all comparable to the tumbling, rope-dancing, wire-walking, and straw-balancing of Sadler's Wells; neither did I observe any feats of equitation in the stile of Hughes's and Astley's amphitheatres, although I had been always told, that the Tartars were remarkably skilful in the instruction and discipline of their horses. Last of all were the fireworks, which, in some particulars, exceeded any thing of the kind I had ever seen. In grandeur, magnificence, and variety, they were, I own, inferior to those of Batavia, but infinitely superior, in point of novelty, neatness, and ingenuity of contrivance. One piece of machinery I greatly admired; a green chest, of five feet square, was hoisted up by a pulley to the height of fifty or sixty feet from the ground; the bottom was so constructed as then suddenly to fall out, and make way for twenty or thirty strings of lanthorns inclosed in the box, to

descend from it, unfolding themselves from one another by degrees, so as at last to form a collection of at least five hundred, each showing a light of a beautifully colored flame, burning brightly within it. This devolution and development of lanthorns (which appeared to me to be composed of gauze and paper) were several times repeated, and every time exhibited a difference of color and figure. On each side was a correspondence of smaller boxes, which opened, in like manner, as the others, and let down an immense network of fire, with divisions and compartments of various forms and dimensions, round and square, hexagons, octagons, and lozenges, which shone like the brightest burnished copper, and flashed like prismatic lightning, with every impulse of the wind. The diversity of colors, indeed, which the Chinese have the secret of cloathing fire with, seems one of the chief merits of their pyrotechny. The whole concluded as at Batavia, with a volcano, or general explosion and discharge of suns and stars, squibs, bouncers, crackers, rockets, and grenadoes, which involved the gardens for above an hour after in a cloud of intolerable smoke. Whilst these entertainments were going forward, the emperor sent to us a variety of refreshments, all which, as coming from him, the etiquette of the court required us to partake of, although we had dined but a short time before.

However meanly we must think of the taste and delicacy of the court of China, whose most refined amusements seem to be chiefly such as I have now described, together with the wretched dramas of the morning, yet it must be confessed that there was something grand and imposing in the general effect

that resulted from the whole *spectacle* ; the emperor himself being seated in front upon his throne, and all his great men and officers attending in their robes of ceremony, and stationed on each side of him, some standing, some sitting, some kneeling, and the guards and standard-bearers behind them, in uncalculable numbers. A dead silence was rigidly observed, not a syllable articulated, or even a laugh exploded during the whole performance.

Before we left the court *Van-ta-gin* told me, that all the ceremonies and diversions of Gehol were now finished, and that as the emperor had fixed the time of his departure for *Yuen-min-yuen* to be on the 24th instant, it would be proper for us to set out some days before him ; he therefore proposed to me the 21st, and hoped it would not be inconvenient—so we must get ready accordingly.

I have now just received the translation of my note to the first minister, in which I request that Captain Mackintosh, having safely delivered all the presents brought in the Hindostan, and paid his obeisance to the emperor, may be allowed to repair without delay to *Chen-san*, to resume the command of his ship there, that his purser may be permitted to purchase a cargo of tea, or such other produce as that port and its neighbourhood can furnish, and that the officers may have leave to dispose of their private trade, in case they should have any. I have also recommended to send an European missionary with Captain Mackintosh, who may (if thought proper) conduct the two mathematicians who had come to *Ta-con*, in order to enter into the emperor's service,

but were still on board the Hindostan ; and I have repeated my desire to have a free communication with Canton for the purpose of epistolary correspondence. But after all I am now under some difficulty about the transmission of my note ; I cannot trust the legate, and none of the missionaries have as yet had leave to come near us since we have been at Gehol. Neither would it be proper to send it by a common messenger, if such could be procured and depended on. *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* say they cannot venture to interfere in the matter, as it is solely in the Tartar's department. *Il faut y penser.*

Thursday, September 19th. This morning very early my interpreter contrived to elude the vigilance of all our attendants, and to make his way with my note to the first minister's house. His undertaking was, however, not a little difficult for, being dressed in the European habit, it was not without some obstruction and even insult from the populace, that he was able to pass. The minister not being visible, my paper was delivered to *Ma-lou-ye*, one of his secretaries, who promised to deliver it and obtain a speedy answer. The interpreter offered him a handsome present in money for this service ; but he declined accepting it, saying, however, that when he returned to Peking, he should not be averse to receive from me some little European article, as a mark of my favor. Late this evening the legate, *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* came here together. The Tartar took out of his pocket a paper, which he said was an answer to my note of this morning to the minister, and read to me the contents, which were as follows:

That Captain Mackintosh, having come with me, could not be allowed to separate, but must go away at the same time with me ; that his ship might sell at *Cheu-san* what goods she had brought, and take in a loading there in return, for which she should be exempt from any duties ; that the two European mathematicians should be allowed to come to Peking, and enter into the emperor's service ; and that the minister would give proper directions for the purpose without our interference. I requested a copy of the paper from the legate, but he refused it ; and in the whole of this conference showed himself as much indisposed to us as ever : but what gives me much more serious concern is, that I apprehend a decided disinclination towards the embassy, in a more important quarter. A council, I find, was lately held upon our subject, to which the first minister had called the attendance, not only of the late viceroy of Canton, *Foo-chan-tong*, but had brought the former *Hou-pou* of Canton out of prison (where he had long lain under sentence for various crimes) and consulted him at the board. The particulars of what passed there I have not been able to learn, but I cannot avoid auguring the worst from the convention of such a divan.

Friday, September 20th. The emperor's presents for the king, consisting of lanthorns, pieces of silk and porcelain, balls of tea, some drawings, &c. &c. were finally packed up this morning in the presence of the Mandarin. I ordered *George III. Rex*, to be marked on each box, to prevent any mistake or confusion. They do not appear to me to be

very fine, although our conductors affect to consider them as of great value.

We have been busied all this day in making preparations for our journey of to-morrow. I understand from *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* that as we are now less encumbered than we were before, we shall be only six days upon the road instead of seven. The Tartar legate came and made us a visit to-day; but had nothing more to mention to us relative to the business of yesterday. He said he should accompany us to Peking, and hoped to visit us at the different stages which we meant to stop at.

Saturday, Sept. 21st. This morning at seven o'clock A. M. we set out for Peking from Gehol, much in the same manner and order as we had travelled before from Peking to Gehol. The road was so very heavy (it having rained in the night for six hours without intermission) that we did not reach this place (*Cola-choa-you*) where we are to sleep, till four o'clock P. M. although the distance is little more than a dozen English miles. I went this evening to the top of a high hill near our station, from whence I had a very delightful prospect. It was an amphitheatre of considerable extent, formed by a spacious green level surrounding the eminence I stood upon, watered by a fine river that almost rendered it an island, and apparently terminated by a circular screen of mountains overlapping each other, but which, all rising separately and singly from the plain, left open in reality innumerable passages between them. The weather had been cold and windy, though not unpleasant in the sun.

This day died Jeremy Reid, one of my guard, belonging to the royal regiment of artillery. His disorder was occasioned by a surfeit of fruit, the man having eaten no less than forty apples at a breakfast.

Sunday, September 22d. This morning we buried Reid the gunner, who died yesterday, and we proceeded to our present stage (*Ching-chan-you*) being eighteen miles, where we have dined, and shall stay to-night. The legate made us a short visit this evening.

Monday, September 23d. Our journey to *Cou-pe-kion* this day has been twenty-four miles. For upwards of an hour before we reached it, we had a very fine view of the great wall in front of us, and on each side of us. Some of the gentlemen of the embassy were desirous of paying another visit to it, in order to examine it with greater accuracy than before; but the passage, or breach, where they had mounted on a former occasion, having been stopped up during our absence with stones and rubbish, and consequently now rendered impracticable, they were obliged to look out for another place of access, which having discovered, they were enabled to gratify their curiosity a second time.

Tuesday, September 24th. Having a long journey of thirty-five miles to perform to-day, we set out very early in the morning, and in about nine hours reached this place (*Min-yu-kien*) where we purpose remaining to-night. The legate made us another visit this afternoon.

Wednesday, September 25th. Our stage to-day was twenty-seven miles from *Min-yu-kien* to *Nan-chut-sue*. We saw nothing of the legate to-day.

Thursday, September 26th. We set out this morning at four o'clock A. M. and arrived about noon at my hotel at Peking (twenty-seven miles) having performed the journey from Cehol in five days and a half. We were lodged and entertained at the emperor's houses on our return, in the same manner and with the same attentions, as in our former journey. *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* continue their friendly disposition toward us and, on every occasion, do us all the good offices in their power; but the legate still preserves the same vinegar aspect without relaxation.

PEKIN.

Friday, September 27th. We were all this morning employed in arranging the remainder of the presents to be sent to *Yuen-min-yuen*. Our conductors seem pressing for us to finish this business, which, added to our own observations and intelligence from others, induce us to imagine that it is not intended we should pass the winter here.

Saturday, September 28th. The greatest part of the presents are delivered, and my interpreter is gone to *Yuen-min-yuen*, in order to assist the gentlemen and artists, (whom I left there,) to translate and explain every thing relative to the machinery and management of the planetarium, orrery,

globes, clocks, &c. &c. so that the missionaries and others, who are to have the charge of them, may be able to keep them in order after our departure.

The legate visited me to inform me that the emperor was to arrive on Monday next, and that it was the custom for ambassadors, as well as for the great Mandarines of the court, to go and meet him on the road, at a place about twelve miles off. He therefore proposed to me, seeing I was much indisposed with the rheumatism that, in order to lessen the fatigue, I should sleep at my former quarters at *Yuen-min-yuen*, which were half way, and proceed the next day to attend the emperor. Though in very great pain at the moment, I told him I should exert myself on such an occasion to the utmost, and hoped I should be able to travel to-morrow.

Sunday, September 29th. I kept myself quiet till the afternoon; and then set out for this place, (*Yuen-min-yuen*,) where I now am, very much fatigued and going to bed to recruit for to-morrow's expedition.

Monday, September 30th. This morning at four o'clock we were all in motion, and arrived at our ground in less than two hours. We were conducted into a large saloon, where refreshments were prepared for us, and then proceeded to the spot where the emperor was to pass, and to take notice of our attendance. Our station was on a high bank on the left of the road; on each side of us, and opposite to us, were several thousands of Mandarines, household troops,

standard-bearers, and other court officers lining the way for several miles, as far as our eyes could reach. The emperor himself soon made his appearance carried in a kind of sedan chair, and followed by a clumsy state chariot upon two wheels, without springs, which must be so rough and disagreeable a machine, that I think he will be delighted with a transition to the elegant, easy carriages we have brought for him.

We paid our compliments to him as he passed, and he sent me a message importing, that as he understood I was not well, and as the cold weather was approaching, it would be better for me to return immediately to Peking, than to make any stay at *Yuen-min-yuen*.

The minister *Cho-chang-tong* soon followed the emperor, and gave me a very gracious salute as he passed by, but he did not stop a moment, as I imagined he would do from what the legate had said yesterday.

As soon as the cavalcade was at some distance, and the crowd a little dispersed, I returned to *Yuen-min-yuen*, and after resting myself there a short time, came on to Peking, where I arrived this afternoon, extremely tired and very much out of order.

Tuesday, October 1st. This day the gentlemen and artists who had been employed in the arrangement of the planetarium, lustres, globes, &c. at the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen*, returned there to finish that business, and to put up Parker's

great lens, which I had procured from Captain Mackintosh, and which seemed to strike the Chinese in a most particular manner; and yet so ignorant are they in matters of the kind, that they asked Mr. Barrow, whether he could not make such another for them; and when he told them, that it was made by the artist who had executed the lustres, and whose sole profession was to compose works of glass and crystal, and that there was not such another lens in the world beside, they shook their heads, as if they doubted his veracity; but having asked Dr. Gillan the same question apart, and receiving a similar answer, they appeared to be somewhat satisfied. They however requested that it might be fixed in its place *immediately*, and when they were informed that it would require some time, they expressed the utmost astonishment, and were scarcely made to comprehend how it could admit of any delay, as they said it was the emperor's order to have it done instantly, for he was impatient to see it, and our gentlemen might have an hundred, two hundred, or any number of hands, that they chose to call for, to assist them. The legate, indeed, testified no less surprise, upon a former occasion, on being told that it would take several weeks to combine all the different movements of the planetarium, imagining that labor, not skill, was the only thing necessary, and that putting together so complicated a machine as a system of the universe was an operation almost as easy and simple as the winding up a jack.

By this intercourse with the palace, a few channel of communication and intelligence has been opened, and which we have already derived some advantage from. This is the more

fortunate, because none of the missionaries, except Father Kosielski, have been allowed to frequent us since we returned from Gehol.

It seems that, before our arrival and the presentation of the king's letter, some of the emperor's ministers had given it as their solemn opinion, that we should be desired to depart at the end of our forty days, which period is pretended by the Chinese to be the term fixed by the laws of the empire for the stay of a foreign embassy. To obviate this notion in time and to rectify some other mistakes, I sent a note to the minister (*Cho-chan-tong*) expressing my thanks to the emperor for his gracious permission that Captain Mackintosh's ship should load at *Cheu-san*; but repeating that as nothing could be done, but under the inspection of Captain Mackintosh himself, for whose discretion and good conduct I would be responsible, I hoped he might be allowed to rejoin his ship at *Cheu-san* without delay. That with regard to myself, I proposed to return to Europe by way of Canton, for which place I should ask the emperor's permission to set out, as soon after the new year as the season would allow, as I expected the king's ship would be then arrived at Macao, in order to convey me home.

The minister's answer to this note is a desire to see me at *Yuen-min-yuen* to-morrow morning.

Wednesday, October 2d. This morning, though much indisposed, I went to *Yuen-min-yuen*, and found the minister sitting with the *Fou-liou* and the *Fou-liou's* brother *I'oo-chan*.

tong, but no other colaos attending. He began by delivering to me some letters which, he said, were just arrived by the post from Cheusan. One of them was for Captain Mackintosh from his first mate, and there were two from Sir Erasmus Gower to myself. On asking me what news they brought? I immediately told him the contents, which were that the *Lion* was preparing to leave Cheusan with all expedition; but that the *Hindostan* could not depart till her commander should join her. I then freely put into his hands the letters themselves, in order to remove from his mind any doubt he might entertain of the authenticity of my information to him.

He said, he hoped the *Lion* was not gone; for he imagined that after so long an absence from home, I must be very desirous of soon returning to it, and that the emperor, upon first hearing that I was ill, and that I had lost some of my people by death since my arrival in China, remarked how much foreigners were liable to suffer from the cold winters of Peking, and had expressed his apprehensions that we should run great risk of injuring our healths, if we did not set out from it before the frost commenced. The minister added, that as to the feasts and ceremonies of the new year which, he observed, I had mentioned in my note, they were nothing more than a repetition of the amusements I had already seen at Gehol. To this I answered, that I had been accustomed to cold climates, and was therefore not much afraid of feeling inconveniency from that of Peking, especially as I had taken precautions to guard against its ill effects. After a few more

words upon this subject, I begged to recal to his recollection the flattering hopes he had given me, when at Gehol, that I should have frequent opportunities of seeing him at *Tuen-min-yuen*, the earliest of which I wished to take, in order to explain to him fully my sovereign's instructions to me, and to enter into negociation upon the points contained in them; that as yet I had barely opened my commission, but it was the king's wish that I might be allowed to reside at his (the king's) expense constantly at the emperor's court, according to the custom in Europe, for the purpose of cultivating and cementing a firm friendship between two such powerful monarchs; I said that, with this view, I had been directed to propose that the emperor would please to send a reciprocal embassy to England, the care of which I would undertake to have managed in such a manner, as I was sure would be highly satisfactory; that I should have proper ships with every accommodation prepared for the purpose of conveying it to England, and bringing it back to China in safety, with every possible mark of honor and respect. I then explained to him generally the favors I had chiefly to ask, endeavoring to state them in such a manner and in such terms, as to take away any appearance of demand, and merely to convey a sense of their propriety in themselves, unattended with the slightest inconvenience of any kind whatsoever to China; and an assurance to him, that they would be received as strong marks of benevolence and friendship towards the prince who had sent me to request them, and whose subjects would always endeavour to render themselves deserving of the emperor's favor and protection.

The minister, with his usual address, avoided entering into any discussion of these points, which I had taken so much pains to lay before him, and turned the discourse upon the state of my health, assuring me that the emperor's proposal for my departure arose chiefly from his anxiety about it; for that otherwise my stay could not but be agreeable to him.

Although from the course of the conversation, and from the deportment of the minister and his two assessors, I was led to draw rather an unfavorable inference relative to my business, yet when I rose to take leave, nothing could be more gracious, or more flattering than the expressions which he made use of to me upon the occasion, in so much that my interpreter congratulated me on the fair prospect of my negotiation, and said that he expected the happiest issue from it. Nevertheless since my return home, I have received two different communications, by which I am informed, that the emperor's answer to the king's letter is already prepared, and sent to be translated into Latin from the Chinese. This, I find, is an infallible indication of the court's intentions, and as a signal for us to take our leave. I am afraid that there is good ground for my apprehension, as *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, who have just been here, tell me that I shall have a message from the minister to meet him to-morrow at the palace. They say, that the emperor's letter for the king will *probably* be then delivered to me, (for they pretend not to know *certainly* that it will) in which case, they advise me to ask permission to depart without delay. I suppose they have been directed to hold this discourse to me; but they appear much dejected, for besides the loss of

such advantages from us, as they might expect, should we obtain the objects of the embassy, they have now little hopes of the advancement and preferment at court, which they had conceived hopes of, from being selected to attend us.

Padre *Cho*, the interpreter, who left me at Macao, having resumed his Chinese dress, is now come to join his family here, and brings me a letter from Mr. Irwin, one of our commissioners at Canton, dated the 2d July, communicating to me the principal occurrences in Europe down to the 10th January last, by which it appears that a war with the French convention is almost inevitable.

Thursday, October 3. The legate came early this morning to acquaint me, that the first minister and several other colaos were to assemble at the palace of the city, and hoped that I would meet them there in ceremony, as soon as I could be ready. Being ill in bed when he came, and scarcely able to rise, I do not remember ever having received a more unpleasant message in my life. However, I got up immediately, and gave directions, in consequence of this summons, to prepare every thing for the occasion. It was not long before I set out, but I need not have been so punctual, for we were kept waiting near three hours before the minister and his coadjutors were in proper order for our reception. At last we were conducted through several spacious courts, and over several magnificent bridges, to the foot of the great stairs of the imperial hall, where I found an arm-chair covered with a fine yellow silk, representing the majesty of China and containing the emperor's letter to the king. After making our

usual reverences, we proceeded to the hall, the chair and letter being carried up in great state before us.

The minister explained to me the meaning of all this formality, and told me that the letter, which was now uncovered, would be sent to my house in the same pomp; but he did not tell me what was in it. He then pointed to some tables, upon which were arranged in great regularity a number of bundles, with yellow wrappers over them, and said they were the remainder of the emperor's presents to the king, and also some presents for myself and for all the persons who had come with me from England.

All that had now passed was not only without the minister's usual graciousness of manner, but with a degree of constraint and stiffness, that appeared to me not natural but assumed for the occasion. I soon, however, discovered his real indisposition towards us, by his decisive refusal of some magnificent presents which I had made him, and which I had every reason from himself to imagine he had accepted, as he had informed me into whose charge they should be delivered. The other colaos were equally steady in their refusal, and had declined what I sent.

I was now almost fainting with fatigue, and therefore requested the minister's leave to retire, but first reminded him of the points I had mentioned to him yesterday, which I had had my sovereign's commands to solicit, (although not particularly specified in his letter,) and requested that he would allow Sir George Staunton to continue the subject with him,

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as I was unable to speak longer. He said, I might send him a note of my requests; but he said it in such a tone as gives me no great hopes of success from it, especially as he chose to be quite silent on the subject of my former note, which, from the manner of our parting yesterday, I had reason to think he would have mentioned to me to day.

Soon after my return home this afternoon, the emperor's letter to the king was brought to my house in great ceremony, accompanied by sixteen Mandarins of rank and their attendants. The presents followed it, and those for the king were immediately packed up in boxes and marked as before.

It is now beyond a doubt, although nothing was said to-day upon the subject, that the court wishes us to be gone, and if we do not take the hints already given, they may possibly be imparted to us in a broader and coarser manner, which would be equally unpleasant to the dignity of the embassy, and the success of its objects.

That no time might be lost or advantage taken, I have dispatched to the minister the note which he had desired me this morning to send to him. It consists of six principal articles extracted from my instructions and compressed into as narrow a compass as possible. The first is a request to allow the English merchants to trade to *Cheu-san*, *Limpo*, and *Tien-sing*. 2d. To allow them to have a warehouse at Peking for the sale of their goods as the Russians had formerly. 3d. To allow them some small detached, unfortified island in the neighbourhood of *Chusan*, as a magazine for

their unsold goods, and as a residence for their people to take care of them. 4th. To allow them a similar privilege near Canton, and some other trifling indulgences. 5th. To abolish the transit duties between Macao and Canton, or, at least, to reduce them to the standard of 1782. 6th. To prohibit the exaction of any duties from English merchants, over and above those settled by the emperor's diploma, a copy of which is requested to be given to them (as they have never yet been able to see it) for their unequivocal direction.

Friday, October 4th. Yesterday evening father Amyot, who had sent me the earliest notice of the emperor's letter to the king being prepared, and several other pieces of important intelligence, who seemed watchful over our interests and anxious for our success, found means of letting Sir George Staunton know (for I was very ill and obliged to go to bed) his sentiments on the state of our affairs here at this juncture, for my speedy information. He is of opinion, that the Chinese consider embassies as mere temporary ceremonies, sent on particular occasions only, none of those from Europe having been of any considerable duration, and the last from Portugal, though very well received, of less than six weeks. That they have as yet no favorable ideas of treaties with distant powers, but that they might be rendered sensible of them if applied to and solicited without precipitation, and managed with caution and adroitness; for nothing was to be expected as attainable on the sudden.

He thinks that the embassy would have met with fewer difficulties at its outset, if it had arrived before the govern-

ment had been alarmed by the news of great troubles in Europe; the inhabitants of which are indiscriminately considered by them as of a turbulent character, but nevertheless that my embassy had been so brilliant, and has made such an impression in the country, as must in the end be productive of very happy consequences, notwithstanding any different appearance at present. He advised, that the ground gained by sending an embassy from the king to the emperor should by no means be lost, but be followed up by an intercourse of letters between them, which the annual ships might convey, and which might be still improved, and perhaps carried to the most desirable effect by a person resident at Canton, with the king's commission, in order to insure him access to the viceroy, and to enable him to appear at court, and negotiate with authority, in case he should be invited to attend there, on occasion of the accession of a new emperor, or any other solemnity. He desired me to be told, that he was afraid my illness had been occasioned by disappointment here; but that I ought not to give way to feelings of that sort, as both those who had planned the embassy and had undertaken it, might well forego the satisfaction of momentary promises, in favor of the more solid and permanent advantages which must gradually follow from it. In conclusion, his judgment was, that it would be most for our interests, at present, to signify my wishes to return home as soon as I could conveniently set out.

This is nearly the sum of the good father's opinion and advice, though mixed with many other observations and ideas relative to the late subversion in France, which are needless

to insert here, but which strongly mark the horror it has inspired, and which may probably prove advantageous to us, but I do not require many arguments, at present, to induce me to follow my own sentiments, which, since the receipt of Mr. Irwin's letter, strongly lead me to depart, both on account of the propriety of the measure in itself, and the beneficial service which, if the Lion be not gone, I may possibly be able to render to the company, in case, when I arrive at Canton, I should find Mr. Irwin's apprehensions realized of a war with the French convention. Nevertheless, having been selected for this commission to China, the first of its kind from Great Britain, of which considerable expectations of success had been formed by many, and by none more than by myself, I cannot help feeling the disappointment most severely. I cannot lose^{at} sight of my first prospects without infinite regret. The consciousness of doing all in a man's power to do, in the exercise of public employments, is an ultimate consolation against most evils that can happen; but it requires no ordinary strain of philosophy to reconcile him at once to the immediate failure of success in a favorite undertaking, be the remote consequences ever so flattering. In Father Amyot's letter to me, before I set out for Gehol, he desired me not to be disturbed or discouraged by any untoward accidents, and to be assured that, in the end, the objects of the embassy might be attained by patient perseverance and unruffled attention; and his opinion seems not to be changed by what has happened since. From living half a century in this country, possibly from well-grounded knowledge and experience, he is become a very warm admirer of the Chinese nation. and has taken

much pains and, in some instances, not without success, to remove several false ideas entertained in Europe of their character, customs, and policy. I have been so short a time in the country, and he has been so long in it; I have seen so little of it, he has seen so much; he is besides a man of such probity and universal charity, that his opinion is entitled to considerable respect from me; nevertheless, from the great deference and veneration which the Chinese have long paid to his acknowledged virtue and abilities, he may have insensibly contracted too great a partiality for them, and may view their government through a flattering medium. His apostolic zeal too, which is a predominant feature of his character, may tend to render him sanguine; he knows that without a better intercourse between Europe and China, or a miraculous interposition from above, the gospel is likely to make but a slow progress in this part of the world; and he knows, that if the trade of China were once properly opened to us, it would wonderfully facilitate the business of conversion, and those of his own faith would still have the vineyard to themselves; for he has no jealousy of the English interfering with them in the proselyte branch.

At this time it is a prevailing opinion among the missionaries, and such whose minds are solely employed upon religious objects, that the crisis of catholicism is at hand, and that the church of Rome is to rise triumphant and universal from all the troubles and convulsions that now assault and distract it. These considerations naturally lead the good father to contribute his endeavors, and to wish us not to relinquish an object, which certainly no other power is more likely to attain. He possibly is afraid that I may imbibe hasty preju-

dices, and that my vanity may be wounded by finding that our appearance and address, which he had reckoned so much upon, had availed us so little here, and he is therefore solicitous to set me right and prevent my going wrong.

Whether the difficulties we have met with arise chiefly from the particular humour and jealousy of the court, or from the *immutable* laws of the empire, which they talk so much of, must be left to time to determine ; but from the observations which it has fallen in my way to make, I should rather imagine that the personal character of the ministers, alarmed by the most trifling accident, the aversion they may naturally have to sudden innovation, especially at the emperor's late period of life, and some recent events ill understood, joined, perhaps, to a paltry intrigue, have been among the chief obstacles to my business ; for most of the principal people, whom I have had opportunities of knowing, I have found sociable, conversible, good humoured, and not at all indisposed to foreigners. As to the lower orders they are all of a trafficking turn, and it seemed at the sea-ports, where we stopped, that nothing would be more agreeable to them than to see our ships often in their harbors. With regard to their *immutable* laws, what laws are *really* so I know not ; but I suspect the phrase has no very precise meaning, and is only made use of as a general shield against reason and argument ; for we know that they have broken through some of their laws, that were declared to be unalterable. The recent instance of the ceremony in my own case is one, not to mention others, which the accession of the present dynasty to the throne must have often rendered necessary.

I have written down these reflections as they arose in my mind ; how far they are just, it is not, at this moment, in my power to ascertain ; but, at all events, it appears to me that the wisest measure, for the public service and my own character, will be to retire with as good a grace as I can, and to signify my intentions to do so without delay.

The more distant objects of my mission must be for future consideration, and depend on circumstances, on my finding the Lion still at *Cheu-san*, and on such further news as I may learn at Canton.

I dispatched a note to the first minister, in which, after a few compliments, I acquainted him that as soon as I should receive a written answer to the requests of my former note, I wished to have the emperor's leave to depart, and to proceed to *Cheu-san*, from whence it was possible that Sir Erasmus Gower was not yet sailed, and for whom, in that hope, I inclosed a letter, desiring him to wait for my arrival ; but that, in case Sir Erasmus should have sailed, it would be necessary for me to proceed to Canton, as the *Hindustan*, which must remain till Captain Mackintosh joined her, could not accommodate half of my train and baggage ; and I concluded, as I begun, with the customary compliments and professions.

Late this evening the legate came to inform me, that the minister had dispatched my letter for Sir Erasmus Gower, and that my desire of taking leave, and of proceeding to *Cheu-san* was agreed to : and that to prevent any likelihood

of our being surprised by bad weather, the emperor had fixed the 7th instant for the beginning of our journey, and given orders that every honor and distinction should be paid us on the road. He added, that I should receive the answer to my requests, when I took leave of the minister, who would come into the city on the morning of my departure for the purpose of delivering it to me, and of wishing me a prosperous return home. So this matter is now settled.

• Saturday, October 5th. *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* tell me, that the emperor has appointed two very great men, *Sun-ta-gin* and *I-shon-ta-gin*, to conduct us. The latter I remember to have seen at Geliol, the former is my acquaintance who had been on the frontiers of Russia, and who accompanied us on our visit to the garden of Gehol and the pagodas of *Pou-ta-la* and its environs.

The legate is to go no farther with us than to *Tien-sing*, but *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* say they are not yet informed how far they are to attend us; but they suppose not beyond the limits of their province.

Sunday, October 6th. The legate, *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* came early this morning, in order to assist us in our preparations for departure to-morrow, and to give directions for providing us with whatever accommodations we may require. They say all will be ready to a minute, so that we may set out as soon as I receive notice of the minister's being prepared for the ceremony of my taking leave. I understand that there is a considerable number of great

people at court, who have expressed their being much pleased with us, and who wish that we had continued here longer.

TONG-SIOU.

Monday, October 7th. This day at noon we set out from my hotel at Pekin on our road to *Chou-san*. In my way through the city I stopped at the minister's pavilion, where I found him ready to receive me, attended by the *Fou-liou*, the *Fou-liou's* brother, *Fou-chen-tong*, and several colaos of distinction, all dressed in their robes of ceremony. He pointed to a table covered with yellow silk, on which were placed two large rolls, one of them, he told me, contained the emperor's answer to my paper of requests; the other a list of all the emperor's presents. I said, I hoped the answer was favorable to my wishes, as it might contribute, in some degree, to soften the regret which it was natural to feel on leaving the place of his imperial Majesty's residence. He seemed as if surprised with the courtliness of such an address, considering the circumstances of the moment and, feeling himself embarrassed to make a suitable return, changed the subject; and, among other things, said he hoped our tables had been properly served during our stay.

He then mentioned to me the emperor's nomination of *Sun-ta-gin* to conduct me to *Chou-san*, as a matter which, I suppose, he imagined would be agreeable to me. The minister had a smile of affected affability on his countenance during the greater part of the time; but I thought the *Fou-liou* and his brother looked confoundedly sour at us.

I have reason to suspect that there is some mystery in this appearance, and that a court intrigue, which may be still on foot, relative to the affairs of the embassy, has occasioned a disunion or difference of opinion among these great personages.

Before we took our leave, a Mandarin of the fifth order, decorated with a white transparent button on his cap, was called forward, who immediately kneeled down and continued in that posture till the emperor's letter and the list of the presents were fastened on his back by broad yellow ribbands tied round both his shoulders. As soon as this operation was performed, he rose and immediately mounted his horse and, thus accoutred, rode before us the whole way to this place (*Tong-siou*), where he delivered his charge into my hands, in the same humble posture that he had received it. From the time we quitted the minister, it took us near two hours before we arrived at the last gate of the eastern suburb of Peking.

Notwithstanding what I have observed of the wonderful populousness of this country in general, yet that of Peking seems less in proportion than that of *Tien-sing*, and some other places. Though a sight so novel as that of my embassy drew immense crowds of the inhabitants into the streets, yet I doubt whether London would be much behind-hand on any great day of ceremony. I should think that when the king went to St. Paul's after his illness, there were more people to be seen out of doors and at the windows where he passed along, than appeared in the streets of Peking, either

this afternoon when I came away, or the morning when I arrived. I must not however forget that, in Pekin, one scarcely meets with any but men, as the women seldom stir abroad. The houses in China are of one story only and, in general, are very closely inhabited, it being no uncommon thing for a dozen people to be crowded into one small chamber which in England would be considered as a scanty accommodation for a single person. I should think that Pekin stands on at least a third less ground than London, including Westminster and Southwark; but still it is one of the largest cities in the world, and justly to be admired for its walls and gates, the distribution of its quarters, the width and allineation of its streets, the grandeur of its triumphal arches, and the number and magnificence of its palaces.

There are two streets, each of which is scarcely less than a league in length; they are near one hundred feet wide, and are chiefly inhabited by merchants and traders, whose shops and warehouses are most profusely decorated with every ornament that colors, gilding, and varnish can bestow. The hotels of the great are mostly situated in retired narrow streets. The one I inhabited was near the city walls, and had not been long built. It is supposed to have cost near 100,000*l.* and was erected by a former *Hou-pou* of Canton, who has been degraded for his crimes, and has long lain under sentence in prison. As all his fortune was forfeited to the crown, my hotel made part of the confiscation, and we were told by one of the missionaries, that the wits of Pekin had been much diverted with its being allotted for our residence, and said it was but a fair retribution, as the

house had been built by the *Hou-pou*, out of his extortions from our countrymen at Canton.

None of the streets are paved, so that in wet weather they are covered with mud, and in dry weather the dust is excessively disagreeable, pervading every place and every thing; but what renders it intolerably offensive; is the stench with which it is attended for though proper care is taken to have the streets cleaned very early every morning from the filth and ordures of the preceding night, yet the odor generally continues floating in the air for the greater part of the day.

The police is singularly strict; it is indeed stretched to an extent unknown, I believe, in any other city, and strongly marks the jealousy of the government, and their unceasing apprehension of danger. At night all the streets are shut up by barricadoes at each end, and a guard is constantly patrolling between them, so that no person can pass after a certain hour without assigning satisfactory reasons, or being liable to punishment, if disapproved of. A number of watchmen are also stationed at short distances, who carry rattles, and every two or three minutes proclaim their vigilance by the exercise of their instruments. One or two of these guardians of the peace had their stands so near to my house, that I could not sleep a wink for the first three or four nights; but by degrees I became used to the noise, and grew to mind it as little as the ringing of a church bell.

From Pekin we were near three hours in our journey to this place (*Tong-siou*), and we are now lodged at our old quar-

ters in the great Miao, or Bonze Temple, which has been again prepared for us.

The civil officer or Mandarin of this place, a Mantchou Tartar, has been just here to pay me a visit, and offer his services. Mentioning to me in conversation that the waters were now very low, and daily decreasing, he took occasion to observe how attentive and considerate it was in the emperor to fix an early day in the season for our departure ; a few days later, the river would have become too shallow to float our yachts, and it would be excessively inconvenient and uncomfortable to go in small boats, or to travel by land. This is certainly true, and shows how quickly the court lesson had reached this gentleman, and how aptly he had already learned it.

Our conductors inform us that the yachts and every thing else will be ready for our embarkation to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, October 8th. This morning I walked down to the water side, and found it would be some hours before the final arrangements could be made for our setting out. I went on board my own yacht and some of the others, and observed with pleasure the same care and attention for our accommodation down the river, that we had experienced before in ascending it.

It was six o'clock this evening before we sailed from *Tong-siou*.

Wednesday, October 9th. We made but little progress last night, as the waters were low and the yachts frequently got aground. This has happened two or three times again to-day. The weather is cold during the night and early in the morning, but grows very warm towards the middle of the day.

Thursday, October 10th. This afternoon *Van-ta-gin* came to tell me that *Sun-ta-gin* had just received a letter from the emperor, the contents of which he wished to communicate to me, and soon after I saw his yacht approaching mine very fast; I therefore desired *Van-ta-gin* to tell him that as soon as he came along-side I would pay him a visit. I accordingly went on board his yacht, and immediately began by reminding him of his former civilities to me at *Pou-ta-la* and the gardens of Gehol, and renewing my acknowledgments of them; and I then expressed how happy I felt from his being appointed the superintendant of our present voyage. He received me with every possible mark of consideration, expressed the highest satisfaction at having been chosen upon the occasion to accompany us, and then read to me the emperor's letter, the purport of which was, that he (*Sun-ta-gin*) should take us under his particular care, and render every thing agreeable to us in the course of our voyage; that he should conduct us to *Cheu-san*, and see us embarked on board our ships, if they should be still there; if not, that he should proceed with us to Canton. I discovered from him, however, that my letter for Sir Erasmus Gower, desiring him to wait for me at *Cheu-san*, had not been sent. They suspected, I know not what, and had therefore sup-

pressed it. I told him that Sir Erasmus having performed the king's orders to land the embassy in China, would certainly proceed upon other service, unless he heard reasons from me to detain him; I therefore requested him not to lose a moment in having my letter dispatched. He said he would immediately write to Peking upon the subject; and did not doubt that it would be done. I then took my leave, and in about half an hour after, he came on board my yacht to return my visit. Here the conversation became less formal. He talked to me a good deal about the Russians, who, he said, though fierce and barbarous, were by no means a bad people. Understanding from me that I had resided three years in Russia, as the king's minister, he expressed much surprise, and asked me what I could be doing there so long. I explained to him the laws and customs of European nations, with regard to their mutual intercourse, and told him that the sovereigns of Europe usually kept ambassadors constantly resident at each other's courts, for the purposes of cultivating reciprocal friendship, and preventing misunderstandings. He answered me that it was otherwise in China, which never sends ambassadors *to* foreign countries; that ambassadors *from* foreign countries were only occasionally received; and, according to the laws of the empire, allowed but forty days residence, although, on particular occasions, it might have happened that the term was extended to eighty days. He mentioned some other niceties relative to the etiquette of the court, and entered a good deal into the manners and customs of China, which, he said, he knew were different from our's; but they could not be broken through without inconvenience, and, perhaps,

mischief to the state; and that therefore foreigners should not be surprised, or dissatisfied at them. I expressed my concern on account of the ignorance I had been kept in with regard to many things which he now told me, adding, that I had endeavored to do, as were equally my wishes and my duty to do, every thing which I imagined could render me agreeable to the emperor and his ministers: and that if any thing were omitted, it was not my fault, as I had been so much restrained in my intercourse with the European missionaries, who had lived long in China, and could consequently have assisted me with information and instruction. His answer was that of a complete courtier, assuring me that our behaviour had been such as showed we required nothing of that kind, but entitled us to every favor and regard that the laws of the empire could authorize, that he did perfect justice to my sentiments and declaration, and would not fail to transmit them faithfully to court.

After he went away, *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* remained with me a great part of this evening. In the course of conversation, they said that, including all the yachts, baggage-boats, and those of the attending Mandarines, there were forty vessels employed on our present expedition, and upwards of a thousand persons attached to this service. That the emperor allows five thousand taels per day (each tael equal to 6s. 8d.) for defraying the expense of it; and that if that sum should fall short, it must be levied on the provinces we pass through. That one thousand five hundred taels per day were allotted for the expense of our residence at Peking,

and that they were scarcely sufficient. Although the maintenance of the embassy must have undoubtedly been very considerable, I can by no means conceive it in any degree adequate to so large an amount. That it has been fully charged to the emperor is highly probable, but between the money charged and the money actually expended, I understand there is usually a very material difference; for though the emperor's warrant may be signed for a great sum, yet the checks of office, as they are called, are so numerous and so burdensome, that before it arrives at its last stage, it is almost sweated to nothing. I remember *Chou-ta-gin* telling me one day as an instance of this, that an inundation in the course of last year had swept away a village in the province of *Chan-tong* so suddenly, that the inhabitants could save nothing but their lives. The emperor (who, from having formerly hunted there, was well acquainted with the place) immediately ordered one hundred thousand taels for their relief, out of which the first *Li-poo* took twenty thousand; the second, ten thousand; the third, five thousand; and so on till at last there remained no more than twenty thousand for the poor sufferers. So we find that the boasted moral institutes of China are not much better observed than those of some other countries, and that the disciples of Confucius are composed of the same fragile materials as the children of Mammon in the western world.

Friday, October 11th. This day we made very little way; the river was in some places so shallow, that our yachts were often dragged along the bottom by mere bodily force. One

of them being somewhat larger than the others, and more heavily laden, was not able to proceed, and Mr. Maxwell, Captain Mackintosh, and Dr. Gillan, &c. were obliged to remove into smaller boats and divide the baggage.

Sunday, October 12th. This day I paid another visit to *Sun-ta-gin*, who told me that by the latest accounts from *Cheu-san*, our ships were still there. He said that as, on account of the shallowness of the water, our progress was very slow, we might have time to amuse ourselves, if we chose it, by going on shore and viewing the country on the banks, only taking care not to lose sight of our vessels. His attention and civility continuing so pointed, and his good opinion and esteem so unaffectedly expressed, I had the less difficulty in engaging him to converse freely upon the subjects which are now the most interesting to me. I renewed the topic of my former conference with him, and endeavored to impress him with high ideas of the compliment meant to be paid to the emperor by the king's sending an embassy from so great a distance, with such distinguished marks of consideration and regard. I said, I had hoped to find frequent opportunities of fulfilling the purposes of it, which were to testify the sincere interest my sovereign took in the emperor's welfare, to improve the connection between them, and to recommend the king my master's subjects in China to protection and favor. To this he replied with quickness, that the emperor had lately given fresh orders to treat the English and other Europeans at Canton with indulgence and liberality. I told him I had no doubt of the emperor's good dispositions towards us, and that he should always find the gratitude

of our merchants in the respect and obedience which they would pay to his orders; but that they wished to be precisely informed, what those orders, that related to them, really were, which hitherto had not been the case, as for twelve years past several new duties had been levied on them without their being able to learn the reason; that these duties were every year increasing; and that, if not soon regulated, the English commerce, which is now carried on in sixty large ships annually, must be relinquished and given up, as unable to bear so heavy burdens. It was therefore become an object of such consequence, that I could not but hope proper steps would be taken thereupon. He answered me that certainly there would, but that the duties and taxes could not be fixed *absolutely*, because they must necessarily vary from time to time, according to the exigencies of the state, or of the particular provinces where they were levied. I observed to him, that then they should be reduced to their former level, as soon as the extraordinary occasion was past, but that ever since the year 1782 they had been regularly augmenting at Canton, and were now become an insupportable grievance. He confessed that the duties at Canton had been increased of late years, on account of the wars of Tonquin and Thibet, but that as there was peace at present, they would certainly be diminished. I expressed to him the pleasure I felt in receiving this information, together with what he had mentioned before of the emperor's orders in favor, of the English, from so high an authority and in so agreeable a manner, and I begged leave to request the continuance of his good offices in our affairs. It is much to be regretted that as the first minister was determined not to give

me such opportunities, as I sought, for conversing upon business with him, he had not appointed *Sun-ta-gin* to attend us from the beginning, instead of the legate, as possibly we might have been able, by his means or through his channel, to enter into negotiation, whereas the legate did every thing in his power to obstruct and disappoint us. I just hinted this to *Sun-ta-gin*, who said that possibly it might have been so; but that I should find him as ready *now* to convey our sentiments and explain them to the minister, as he could have been *then*. Through all his discourse there is such an air of candor, frankness, and amity, that if I am deceived in him, he must be the most consummate cheat in the world.

Sunday, October 13th. This day we arrived at *Tien-sing*, where we were served with a most sumptuous provision for our tables, excellent mutton, pork, venison, and poultry of all kinds, fruits in great variety, peaches, plums, apples, pears, grapes, chesnuts, walnuts, and several others quite new to me. I should not mention this entertainment particularly, had it not been intended as a personal compliment from *Sun-ta-gin* himself, for, in general, we have been always supplied in great abundance. And here I cannot avoid remarking a singular proof of attention shewn to us in this journey. The Chinese seldom use milk as any part of their food (it being appropriated entirely to the nourishment of the calves) but observing that we had been much accustomed to it, and that we always mixed it with our tea, when we could get it, they have taken care that we shall not want

that article on the road; for they have brought with us a couple of cows in a boat fitted up on purpose, by which means we shall have a constant supply of milk all the way; an accommodation of no inconsiderable value to English travellers.

How are we to reconcile the contradiction that appears in the conduct of the Chinese government towards us? They receive us with the highest distinction, show us every external mark of favor and regard, send the first minister himself to attend us, as a cicerone, for two days together through their palaces and gardens, entertain us with their choicest amusements, and express themselves greatly pleased with so splendid an embassy, commend our conduct, and cajole us with compliments; yet, in less than a couple of months, they plainly discover that they wish us to be gone, refuse our requests without reserve or complaisance, precipitate our departure and dismiss us dissatisfied; yet no sooner have we taken leave of them than we find ourselves treated with more studied attentions, more marked distinction, and less constraint than before. I must endeavor to unravel this mystery if I can. Perhaps they had given way to impressions, which they could not resist, but are ashamed to confess; perhaps they begin to find their mistake, and wish to make some amends for it.

Monday, October 14th. We now ascended the river *Yu-ho* which falls into the *Py-ho* at this place (*Tien-sing*.) It is about eighty feet wide, and the stream is so strong as

to require eighteen or twenty towers to each yacht, and we are not supposed to go at the rate of more than a mile and an half per hour; but the beauty of the scene makes some amends for the slowness of our motions. The banks slope gently down, and are planted on the top with fine large shady trees, the fields neatly divided, and admirably well cultivated, the farm houses picturesque, and every three or four miles are canals of different breadths, either falling into the river or branching from it into the country.

Tuesday, October 15th. The weather was remarkably cold this morning, but grew excessively hot towards noon. At six o'clock A.M. the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 47°, and at two o'clock P.M. had risen to 74°, a variation of 27° in eight hours, which is much greater than I remember to have observed any where before. These sudden vicissitudes begin already to affect the health of our people, and several of the guard are growing sickly. Their living in the midst of such plenty, without much restraint or exercise, may however contribute also to their complaints.

Wednesday, October 16th. The course of the river to-day is very serpentine. In wet seasons it rises very high and overflows its banks, although they are elevated in some places near twenty feet above the present level of the water. It is said the great Yellow River anciently ran here and took this route to discharge itself into the gulph of *Pe-che-li*, although its present mouth is near two hundred miles to the south-

ward of it. The country is sandy and dry in appearance; but you cannot dig a foot deep any where without finding water in abundance. The willow plantations continue, with some fruit trees; chiefly plums, intermixed with them.

Thursday, October 17th. Passed by several large burying grounds; from which I conclude we are not far from some large town or city. The population seems prodigious, and we are told it increases the farther we go southward. To-day we observed a great many women mixed with the men; but few of them handsome. They labor in the fields at harvest and other country business, just like their husbands.

Friday, October 18th. We observed several towns and walled cities at some distance, which, added to the general appearance of the country, give it some resemblance to Flanders and Holland. I find that the weather here is always warm and pleasant when a southerly wind blows; but cold and pinching, whenever it shifts to the northward. Owing to this circumstance, the thermometer was yesterday at 53° at sun-rise, and to-day at 46° . *Fan-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* own that in the winter a great many poor people die in these provinces for want of sufficient clothing. It is chiefly their clothing that the Chinese trust to for a defence against the cold weather. They have no fire-places nor fixed stoves in their houses; they employ pans of charcoal for their culinary purposes, and sometimes have braziers brought into their chambers, but these give only a short temporary heat, and

require too much trouble and attention to be regularly kept up.

We arrived this evening at *Chun-siou*, which is a very large city on the left bank of the river. The troops were all drawn out with flags, standards, music, torches, lamps and lanthorns, in honor of our approach.

Saturday, October 19th. The appearance of the country to day is rather dreary, no trees or shrubs to be seen, except the ricinus, which produces what we vulgarly call in England the palma Christi or castor oil. In Europe and the West Indies, I believe it is only used in medicine, but I am informed that the Chinese have the secret of depriving it, by some process, of its purgative quality, and of rendering it esculent and palatable. The thermometer was at 50° this morning at six o'clock, and at 68° about noon.

Sunday, October 20th. The country much the same as yesterday; the weather cold, the sky gloomy, the sun seldom shining out. A few drops of rain in the afternoon, but scarcely to be called a shower.

Monday, October 21st. This morning I paid a visit to *Sun-ta-gin*, and had a very long conference with him. The emperor's letters to the king made a principal subject of it.

The secretary, who had penned the last letter, and who was now in the train of *Sun-ta-gin*, was present, and endea-

vored to excuse that part of it which I complained of, in which it is said, that the requests made in the ambassador's note of the 3d October were supposed to come rather from him than from the king. According to the explanation given me, it is a sort of political conundrum, a court artifice to elude an ungrantable demand, for Chinese urbanity does not admit a supposition that one sovereign can desire of another what is possible to be refused: it is therefore concluded, that the request has never been made or, if made, that the ambassador has been guilty of an error in the delivery of his message, and to have asked, from his own head, what had never entered into that of his master.

This mode of interpretation, however respectful it may be pretended to the king, is certainly not very flattering to his representative; but I was willing to understand the matter in their own way, and let it pass so. All private and personal considerations must merge in the pursuit of public objects, and in diplomatic transactions; there is a wide difference between negotiating with an European and an Oriental prince, between a king of Spain or king of Prussia, and an emperor of China or Japan; even Louis the XIV. on occasion of one of his ships being fired at in the Archipelago, said there was no point of honor with such people as the Turks. When I mentioned to *Sun-ta-gin* my surprise at finding myself supposed, in the letter, to be desirous of introducing the English religion into China, he said they had taken it for granted we were like the other Europeans who.

it was well known, had always been industrious and active in propagating their faith. To this I replied, that whatever might be the practice of some Europeans, the English never attempted to dispute or disturb the worship or tenets of others, being persuaded that the Supreme Governor of the universe was equally pleased with the homage of all his creatures, when proceeding from sincere devotion, whether according to one mode or another of the various religions which he permitted to be published; that the English came to China with no such views, as was evident from their merchants at Canton and Macao having no priests or chaplains belonging to them, as the other Europeans had; and that so far from an idea of that kind entering into my mind, or my commission, I had not in my whole train any person of the clerical character, and that it was such persons only, who were employed as the instruments of conversion; that it was true, as stated in the letter, the English had been anciently of the same religion as the Portuguese and the other missionaries, and had adopted another; but that one of the principal differences between us and them was our not having the same zeal for making proselytes which they had. I added, however, that I could not but be surprized at its being known in China, that we had formerly been of the same faith as the missionaries, and that I supposed it must have come from the missionaries themselves. He answered, that no such thing was inserted in the letter, at least in the Chinese and Tartar copies, and that if it was to be found in the Latin, it must arise from the blunder or malice of the translator.

I continued my observations on the letters and said, that in the first, the emperor had chiefly dwelt upon the request of an English minister being allowed to reside constantly at Peking, (which was not complied with,) but that he had avoided touching particularly on the other points of my mission, confining himself to a general assurance, that the English merchants should be treated with kindness and favor; and that, in the second letter, besides imputing to me the strange religious project, which I had already mentioned, he seemed to accuse us of an unfair design to obtain exclusive privileges, which I totally disavowed; it was true, I admitted, that we had only asked for ourselves; but that, however grateful we should be for any favors granted to us, we by no means presumed to desire that his bounty should not be extended to others. I renewed the subject of the grievances complained of at Canton, which, I observed, were so disguised in the emperor's letter, that it was not surprising they should be disregarded; but that they were of the most serious consideration to us and, if not speedily remedied, the trade of Canton would fall to decay, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to China. *Sun-ta-gin* begged me to lay aside the uneasiness which I seemed to feel from the perusal of the letters, which he declared were not meant to convey any thing unfavorable or unpleasant to the embassy or myself, but he wished to remind me that the laws and usages of China were invariable, and that the emperor was so strictly observant of them, that no consideration could ever induce him to infringe them; that he was therefore on his guard against the slightest appearance of innovation, and had de-

clined any immediate compliance with the particular requests we had made, but that we were not to infer from thence a disinclination in him towards us or our concerns, for that notwithstanding any surmises of others, he entertained very kind intentions with regard to us, and that the English at Canton would soon find the good effects of them. He said that from the mechanism of their government, a great deal must be left to the discretion and recommendation of the viceroys, whose conduct might possibly be sometimes not unexceptionable, but that as a particular mark of attention to us, *Chan-ta-gin*, a Mandarin of high rank and allied to the emperor, was just appointed *Tson-tou* or viceroy of Canton, a man of remarkable benignity to strangers, and whose justice and integrity, displayed in his late government of *Che-kiang*, had pointed him out as the fittest person for this new employment; that orders had been sent to him to make the most minute inquiries at Canton into such vexations and grievances as may exist there, and as soon as he has maturely considered them, to rectify every thing amiss by the most effectual exertion of his authority. That this would probably take some time and the good consequences could scarcely be felt till the ensuing season, when, upon proper notice being given to him of the arrival of our ships, every reasonable indulgence will be allowed them. To these agreeable declarations, I was not backward in expressing how satisfactory they were to me; but I insinuated to him that, to render them completely so to my sovereign, a third letter from the emperor, confirming the flattering hopes now given me, would be very desirable, as it would remove every doubt that

might arise upon the others, and that it was the more necessary, as, from the singular variation in the translation from the original in one particular instance, it was not unreasonable to imagine some other mistake or insertion might be found there. *Sun-ta-gin* seemed sensible enough of the value I put upon obtaining a third letter, but said it could make no difference whatsoever as to the public advantages in consideration, and that he was afraid, as I had taken leave, a new dispatch would be incompatible with the etiquette of the court: He told me, that it appeared to him, that the emperor was every day more and more pleased with the compliment of the embassy, and he added, that the assurances which he had given me of the emperor's favorable intentions were by no means to be taken as the effusions of his own friendship, or the compliments of his office, but as the literal words (which they really were) of the emperor's dispatches to him, and that when I came to converse with *Chun-ta-gin*, whom I should find at *Han-chou-fou*, he would confirm all he had mentioned in the fullest manner. I find that scarcely a day passes without *Sun-ta-gin* receiving and dispatching letters, so that it would seem we form no small object of court solicitude. The Chinese couriers are so expeditious that, I am told, it is no uncommon thing to convey a letter fifteen hundred miles in ten or twelve days.

Tuesday, October 22d. At sun-rise the thermometer was fallen as low as 48. We observe large plantations of cotton on each side of the river, which here meanders so much, that we have had the sun ahead and astern of us twenty times in a few hours.

At four o'clock P. M. we passed by *Lin-chin-chou*, a large walled city, which poured out such myriads of its inhabitants to see us sail along, as quite astonished me, although I have been so much accustomed to the sight of Chinese populousness.

The largest and tallest poplars I ever saw, particularly the quaking asp, are in vast numbers here.

Before dark this evening we quitted the river, and entered through a sluice into a narrow canal.

Wednesday, October 23d. The canal now enlarges to the breadth of fifty or sixty feet, and is very muddy. It winds like a river, and is, in fact, I suppose, a river, aided and improved by art. The banks are unequal, in some places very high, in others scarcely elevated above the plain.

Thursday, October 24th. This day we passed through three sluices. Received a message from *Sun-ta-gin* that he had received a letter from the emperor, and would communicate the contents when convenient to me. I was taken very ill this morning, and have not stirred out of bed all day, but I hope to be well enough to-morrow to see *Sun-ta-gin*.

Friday, October 25th. *Sun-ta-gin* told me that the emperor was very much pleased with the accounts he had been enabled to give him of our prosperous journey, and had sent me a testimony of his benevolence (a cheese and some sweetmeats) with a gracious repetition of kindness and regard. We had a good deal of desultory conversation upon the ge-

neral subjects of our last meeting, during which he took occasion to say, that we should find it an easy matter to set every thing to rights with the new viceroy of Canton, who was so reasonable and so just, that I might depend upon it he never would countenance the most trifling oppression. He again declared, that greater indulgence and favor were intended to be shown to the English than they had ever experienced before, and seemed anxious to impress this opinion on my mind. If the court of Peking is not really sincere, can they possibly expect to feed us long with promises? Can they be ignorant that a couple of English frigates would be an over-match for the whole naval force of their empire; that in half a summer they could totally destroy all the navigation of their coasts, and reduce the inhabitants of the maritime provinces, who subsist chiefly on fish, to absolute famine?

Saturday, October 26th. Continued our course on the canal, which is now supplied from a very extensive lake on our left hand. The idea of the great canal in Russia, which at certain distances runs almost parallel to the shores of the Ladoga, and is filled from it, seems to have been borrowed from hence. The bank here between the canal and the lake occasionally varies in breadth, being in some places not less than half a mile thick, and in others scarcely more than two hundred yards. Though the lake is very extensive, yet I could see its extreme boundaries from the deck of my yacht. The prospect of it this morning at run-rise was most delightful, the borders fringed with wood, houses and pagodas on the sloping grounds behind, and the lake itself covered with numberless vessels, crossing it in different directions,

according to all the various modes of navigation that poles, paddles, oars, and sails can supply. On our right are many villages on the bank, which is here and there pierced with sluices, in order to turn the water for the purpose of agriculture. In the back ground at four or five miles distance are several pretty round hills rising singly from the plain, and crowned with trees and pagodas. The weather has been uncommonly fine, neither too cold nor too warm, much like our mild October in England.

Sunday, October 27th. The canal is now conducted over a great morass, which appears without limits on each side, and above which it is raised and embanked by immense mounds of earth, very high and very thick. It is a most stupendous work, as *Chou-ta-gin* has explained it to me. Imagine a vast surface of inundation, narrowed and forced up by human skill and industry, into an artificial channel several yards above its former bed, and flowing along in that airy state, till it finds a corresponding level, where it unites with many other streams. It then becomes a most noble canal, improved and adorned with sluices and bridges of singular workmanship and beauty, and after a long course through one of the finest provinces in China, gently falls into the *Hoang-ho* or Yellow River.

Monday, October 28th. I have observed for some days past, that there are eighteen trackers and one driver uniformly attached to each yacht. The regulation had been sometimes departed from before, so I suppose the police here is more strict. The districts through which the canal passes, are

obliged to furnish the people for this service, as the post-masters in France and Germany are bound to supply a certain number of horses for travellers. The wealthiest farmer in China would be obliged to perform the work himself, if he did not provide a substitute.

Tuesday, October 29th. A lively breeze sprung up from the south-west this morning, which makes the feel of the air uncommonly pleasant. A fine grey marbled sky, which from time to time just discloses such a proportion of the sun beams as to render the hue of the weather more cheerful.

Sun-ta-gin came to say that he had received a letter, acquainting him that the *Lion* and the smaller vessels had sailed away from *Cheu-san* on the 16th instant, so that there only remained the *Hindostan* to convey us to Macao. I told him she was totally incapable of accommodating us, being built for trade, and not calculated for passengers; that from our manners and habits of life we required a good deal of room, and that a general sickness was the inevitable concomitant of a crowded ship. He said he would immediately write these particulars to court, and did not doubt that he should receive such orders thereupon, as would be perfectly agreeable to us. He proposed, that if we proceeded to Canton through the inland provinces, we should send away our heavy baggage by the *Hindostan*. To this I made no objection, as I wished to travel with as little incumbrance as possible; but I could not avoid reminding him of my letter to Sir Erasmus Gower, and observing, that if it had been forwarded, as I requested; the inconvenience we now felt from his departure would have been

prevented. He seemed perfectly conscious of this, and rather confused at my mentioning it, as he knew very well the unfavorable inference that might be drawn from the omission. Thus from the suspicious character of the court, which is disposed to imagine some deep design in almost every proceeding of an European, we are now very seriously disappointed; Sir Erasmus Gower hearing nothing from me, and knowing nothing of the state of things in Europe, is gone to the eastward, and will not return before May; our valuable China ships must therefore sail without a convoy, which, should we have a French war, would be attended with very much danger.

Sun-ta-gin says, he proposes, when we come to *Yang-chou*, to stop there for two or three days.

Wednesday, October 30th. The wind rose so high in the course of last night, and continues so violent and so contrary, that I find we are not to think of lifting our anchor before to-morrow.

Thursday, October 31st. *Sun-ta-gin* made me a visit this morning, and repeated to me what he had mentioned some days before, that the emperor had strongly expressed in his last dispatch his satisfaction at the account which had been transmitted to him of our deportment and conversation, and that the more he reflected on the circumstances of the embassy, the better he was pleased with it, being now convinced that it had not been sent from any improper view, or mischievous curiosity, but solely to do him honor, and solicit com-

mercial privileges and protection. He added, that the new viceroy of Canton was fully impressed with the emperor's sentiments, and that he was to allow our merchants to have free access to him in order to lay before him their complaints in person, instead of sending them to him through the channel of the Hong merchants. I said I was infinitely sensible of the emperor's goodness, and nothing could render it more valuable but some paper or writing to the purpose of what he had said, which I might have to show to my sovereign, who, whatever credit he might be disposed to give to his ambassador, would pay much more attention to any thing of that sort from the emperor himself; but to this he answered, that the emperor had his own method of doing business, and nobody presumed to prescribe to him a different one; that it was his style to give general assurances, not specific promises, and that it was not at all unlikely we might find the former turn out more to our advantage than the latter could do. He told me that he had already mentioned in one of his dispatches my wishes to have a third letter, and that he should be glad that they were gratified; but he feared it was contrary to usage, adding, however, that he had as yet received no answer upon the subject.

Friday, November 1st. Since passing the last sluice yesterday, the canal has widened very much, and is now as broad as the Thames at Putney.

Saturday, November 2d. This morning early we fell down the canal into the *Hoang-ho*, or Great Yellow River, which, where we crossed it, was about three miles wide, and very muddy. We then struck into another canal, and are now

proceeding to the southward in our way to *Yang-chou*, where it is intended to stop for some days.

Sunday, November 3d. This day, just before we came to *Chin-chau*, we passed through the largest sluice I have as yet seen in China. The fall was between three and four feet. These sluices, which in some districts occur at the distance of a few miles from one another, properly form locks of that extent. The boats collect in great numbers at the sluices, the valves open, and in a few minutes the whole fleet passes through; the flood gates are then let down, and the canal soon recovers its former level. *Chin-chau* is an immense town; from its extent on both sides of the water, and the prodigious number of vessels and people, I should suppose it to be nearly equal to *Tien-sing*.

Monday, November 4th. This day we pass by *Poan-gin*, a large walled city on our left, and observe, on our right, a large lake at about a mile's distance. Here the surface of the canal was on a level with the top of the walls of the town.

Tuesday, November 5th. We arrived at *Yan-chou* which is a considerable trading town, and expected to stop here, but *Sun-ta-gin* has altered his intentions, and means to go on to *Han-chou-fou*.

Wednesday, November 6th. At day break we fell into the *Yang-tse* river, commonly called the *Kiang-ho*, which was about a mile and a half wide at the place where we crossed it.

On the southern shore stands the town of *Tchin-chien*, which is large, well situated, well built, and well inhabited, but the walls seem to be much out of repair, and going fast to decay. A garrison of at least two thousand men all turned out to show themselves, with colors and music, and appointed as if going to be reviewed. They consisted of different corps, differently dressed, and armed according to their respective services, some with matchlocks, some with bows and arrows, and some with halberts, lances, swords and targets. Many of them wore steel helmets, as they are supposed to be, though I suspect they are only of burnished leather, or glittering pasteboard. The uniforms, which are very showy and of different colors, red, white, blue, buff, and yellow, must be very expensive; but, after all, these troops have a slovenly, unmilitary air, and their quilted boots and long petticoats make them look heavy, inactive, and effeminate.

Van-ta-gin tells me that all these fine regimentals and steel caps belong to the emperor, are carefully kept in a public wardrobe, and never worn but upon great holidays and occasions like this. As to the steel helmets, he says they are merely for show, and are too heavy to be used on active service. I wished to procure one, but was disappointed. About half a mile from the town, and nearly in the middle of the river, is an insulated conical rock, usually called by the people, the Golden Mountain, of considerable height and extent, built from the water's edge to the top with temples, turrets, and belvederes on regular terraces, or stories one above the other, intermixed with evergreen trees of various volumes and shades of verdure, contrasted in so happy a taste, and distributed

in such a manner as to give to the whole the air of a fairy edifice suddenly raised upon the river by the magic of an enchanter. It has a very striking effect, and almost realizes the extravagant paintings of China fans and screens, which, I am now inclined to think, have been drawn from actual views, and not from the fancy of the artist.

The people's complexions here are the fairest we have observed since we left Peking. Possibly they may be of a less mixed race than the others. Several men of war junks were lying before the town, manned with soldiers in uniforms, like the troops, who showed themselves on the decks, and affected a warlike appearance; but though there were a few port-holes cut in the sides of the vessels, I did not see a single cannon peeping through any of them.

Thursday, November 7th. Proceed this morning to *Tchan-chou-fou*, and pass under a very noble bridge of three arches, the centre one so high, that my yacht had no occasion to lower her masts in going under it.

Tchan-chou-fou is a city of the first order, and was formerly very considerable, but is much declined. Most of the houses next the water are of wood; the walls are falling down in many places, and the people, I thought, looked dispirited. The removal of the court to Peking from Nankin, which is the capital of this province of *Kian-nan*, is still felt and regretted by the inhabitants. Nothing indeed but very strong political considerations could have induced the sovereign to prefer the northern regions of *Pe-che-li*, the con-

fines of Tartary, to this part of his empire, which is the most beautiful that can be imagined, and abounds with every thing to render life convenient and delicious. All the advantages of climate, soil, and production have been lavished here by nature with an unsparing hand. This evening we passed through the fine city of *Sou-chou-fou*, which is called by travellers the paradise of China.

Friday, November 8th. The country seems to be one continued village on both sides, as far as we can see, wonderfully beautiful and rich. Many mulberry trees are planted round the houses, but most of them have been stripped of their leaves. We are now in the silk country; but we have as yet had no opportunities of making the observations and inquiries we wished to do. From *Tantoo* to *Tan-yan-chien* the depth of the canal is above one hundred feet.

We passed through three small lakes, and at one place by the side of a very long bridge of one hundred arches.

Sun-ta-gin has shown me a letter just received from court, by which he is directed to put the embassy, as soon as we arrive at *Hun-chou-fou*, under the care of the new viceroy of Canton, who is soon to set out for that place, and to conduct us thither. Captain Mackintosh is to join his ship at *Chen-san*, and I told *Sun-ta-gin* that I should send on board him the presents and all the baggage which we should not have occasion for in the remainder of our journey; also a part of my guard and of my other attendants. He seemed to re-

ceive this information with pleasure, and said, that he should himself go as far as Limpo, on the way to *Cheu-san* from *Han-chou-fou*, to give orders that the Hindostan might have every indulgence and assistance necessary for her dispatch, and that he should then return to Peking to render an account of his commission to the emperor, and he was happy to say, that we had enabled him to give a very agreeable and satisfactory one. He desired me to tell Captain Mackintosh, that if from the shortness of the time, or from any other difficulties, he was disappointed of a cargo at *Cheu-san*, he should nevertheless have the same privileges, when he came to Canton, that were promised for *Cheu-san*; and that as a particular compliment to the embassy, and on account of the ship's connection with it, she should be exempted from the payment of any measurage or other duties.

Saturday, November 9th. We stopped this morning at a village without the walls of *Han-chou-fou*, and found that the new viceroy of Canton had come up in his yacht to confer with *Sun-ta-gin*, and that he would soon be along side of *mine* to welcome us on our arrival here. Whether I was prejudiced in his favor, or not, by the accounts I had heard of him, I thought his appearance much to his advantage. He is perfectly well bred, and the whole of his manner candid and gentleman-like. He confirmed to me every thing *Sun-ta-gin* had said upon business, and particularly mentioned the emperor's instructions to him to pay the greatest regard to the English at Canton, who, on every occasion, he said, should have free access to him in person, or by letter.

He then asked me some questions about my passage from England, and the length of the voyage back, and said that it was very flattering to the emperor to have an embassy sent to him from so great a distance. That the emperor had charged him to repeat his satisfaction from it, and to deliver to me an additional present for the king, consisting of some pieces of gold silk, some purses taken from his own person, and what was of very high value, the *paper of happiness*, inscribed by the emperor's own hand, which is known to be the strongest mark a sovereign of China can give to another prince of his friendship and affection. A paper was also sent to me of a similar import, as a testimony of his approbation of the embassy, and an earnest of his purposed attention to its objects. The viceroy then said that he hoped, in four or five days every thing would be ready for us to proceed, and that he expected much pleasure from seeing us and conversing with us frequently in the course of the voyage. As for Captain Mackintosh, &c. *Sun-tu-gin* would take care of them; but he was afraid the Captain would not find it easy to get a loading either at Limpo or *Cheu-san*. Upon this I begged leave to send for Captain Mackintosh, to whom he then explained the difficulties he was likely to meet with. The viceroy told him, that the merchants there were not accustomed, like those of Canton, to trade with Europeans, and to purchase English goods; that they were probably not at present provided with such articles as Captain Mackintosh might want, and that whatever they sold to him they would expect to be paid for in ready money. He mentioned some other objections, which I endeavored to obviate, but observing so many impediments, and thinking it better not to

urge further a business we plainly saw they wished us to decline, and which it was in their power to defeat, we gave it up with a good grace, upon the viceroy's repeating the assurances given before of the Hindostan's being exempted from the payment of measurage and duties at Canton.

This night finished my dispatch to Mr. Dundas.

Sunday, November 10th. The *Tson-tou*, or viceroy, paid me a visit, and repeated, in still stronger terms than yesterday, the assurances and declarations of the emperor's favor, and of his own particular good wishes and disposition towards us.

Han-chou-fou is a very populous, extensive, and flourishing city. A vast quantity of silk is produced in its neighbourhood. Having asked the people of my yacht, what kind of mulberries chiefly grew here, I was informed by some, that it was the red, and by others, the white, from whence I conclude they are both equally common. I hope, from the measures I have taken, to be able to learn something relative to the culture of silk here; but the shyness and jealousy of the Chinese in all matters, where they observe us to be curious and inquisitive, are inconceivably great.

Monday, November 11th. This afternoon I received a letter from Sir Erasmus Gower, dated at *Cheu-san* the 15th October, which, through the singular jealousy and suspicion of the Chinese government, had been kept from me till now. From this letter I have received news of the Lion's people

being very sickly, and of the surgeon and his first mate not being likely to recover; that the ship was in such want of medicines, particularly of bark and opium, that it became necessary to have a speedy supply of both; and therefore he (Sir Erasmus Gower) was returning for that purpose to the mouth of the river of Canton; but should proceed again from thence to the northward without delay. Having mentioned to the viceroy, that Sir Erasmus Gower was probably now in Macao roads, and that it was possible a letter from me might reach him, if dispatched immediately, he has promised to send it this night, by a special messenger, to Mr. Brown at Canton who will know how to forward it.

Wrote my letter to Sir Erasmus, telling him that I was on my road to Canton, and requesting him to remain off Macao till he either saw me, or heard from me again.

Tuesday, November 12th. The viceroy made us another visit, and improves upon us every time we see him.

Wednesday, November 13th. I received a farewell visit from *Sun-ta-gin*, who seemed to be quite melted at parting from us. Among other things he said to me, in a strain of liberality scarcely to be expected in a Tartar or Chinese, that as all distant countries must necessarily have different laws and customs, we should not be surprized that their's varied from ours; that we owed each other mutual indulgences, and he therefore hoped I should not carry with me to Europe any impression to the disadvantage or disparagement of China.

He possesses an elevated mind and, during the whole time of our connection with him, has on all occasions conducted himself towards us in the most friendly and gentlemanlike manner. This kind of behavior is not only agreeable to his natural character but, I believe, he thinks it will be agreeable to his court, as no part of it can be concealed or misrepresented; for notwithstanding his high rank and situation, such are the caution and circumspection of this government, that two considerable Mandarin^{es} (one of whom was the secretary who penned the emperor's letters to the king) were always present at our conferences. *Sun-ta-gin* declined accepting the presents I offered him, but excused himself in a very becoming and unaffected manner.

Before I quit this subject, I must not omit that our discourse together sometimes turned upon Russia, of which he endeavored to speak, as of a country they had no apprehensions from. He said that when disturbances happened on the frontiers, they were usually occasioned by disorderly people whom, when complained of, the court of Russia always disavowed, and delivered to be punished as soon as they could be taken hold of; and that at bottom the Russians were not a bad sort of people, though very ignorant and unpolished. It appears not only from *Sun-ta-gin*, but from several others whom I have conversed with, that the Chinese are no strangers to the Czarina's character, nor to the manner of her mounting the throne.

Thursday, November 14th. This morning we proceeded from *Han-chou-fou* on our journey to the southward. I tra-

velled in a palankeen, and was upwards of two hours in passing through the city, which I found still larger and more populous than I at first imagined; it is very closely built, and the streets very narrow; they are paved with broad flat stones, and put one much in mind of the courts in London, that run parallel with the Strand. Almost every house is a shop. I observed, in some of them, as I went along, great quantities of furs, broad cloth, and long ells, mostly imported, I believe, in English bottoms to Canton. The environs of the town are very beautiful, embellished by an extensive lake, a noble canal with several inferior ones, and gentle hills cultivated to the summit interspersed with plantations of mulberries, and dwarf fruit trees, sheltered by oaks, planes, sycamores and camphors. On one side of the lake is a pagoda in ruins, which forms a remarkably fine object. It is octagonal, built of fine hewn stone, red and yellow, of four entire stories, besides the top, which was mouldering away from age: very large trees were growing out of the cornices; it was about two hundred feet high. It is called the Tower of the Thundering Winds, to whom it would seem to have been dedicated, and is supposed to be two thousand five hundred years old.

After travelling about six miles from the east gate through this charming scene, we came to a broad tide-river, where we found the yachts ready for our embarkation. These vessels have cotton or canvass sails, and something of an European air, being sharp both fore and aft: although their bottoms are quite flat they sail well and draw very little water, not more than ten inches, even when laden with two.

tons and a half weight. In this short stage we passed three military posts, at which we saw a few guns that seemed to have been brought forward on purpose for us to take notice of; they are from two to four pounders, very heavy and very clumsy, the thickness of the metal at the mouth being equal to the bore of the gun. Though scarcely fit for service, they are preserved with great care, each of them having a wooden roof over it. There are not above a dozen of them in the whole. At the different stations on the road, the troops always turned out to salute us, which they frequently did by falling down upon their knees; but there was a large body of five hundred to a thousand drawn up to receive us at the water side, dressed and armed in their best manner, who made a very handsome appearance. They seemed indeed to look more like soldiers than any I had seen in China before, and to show a marked admiration of my guards as they marched along to embark, noticing every particular, their dress, their arms, the cadence of their movements, their quick and slow steps, their erect figures, their manly air and military mechanism.

Friday, November 15th. This morning, at day-light, I found we had advanced up the river above the reach of the tide; it is still very broad, not less than half a mile across. Yesterday we sailed, but now we are towed. The country on each side is full of mountains with fertile vallies between them. Near the banks grows a great variety of trees, among which were particularly pointed out to me the tallow tree, and the camphor tree, which I had not remarked before.

Saturday, November 16th. The country is beautiful and romantic, somewhat resembling the scenes on the river Conway between Llanroost and the sea.

I made a visit to the viceroy, at which *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* were present. It was intended these two latter gentlemen should leave us at *Han-chou-fou*; but as they were well known to the viceroy, and as he observed they were agreeable and accustomed to us, he desired them to come on and accompany the embassy to Canton. Very little was said in this conversation relative to our affairs; I thought it better to avoid entering upon that subject abruptly, and to wait for more favorable opportunities of introducing it, many of which must occur in the long journey now before us. I left it to him to lead the discourse as he liked, which, though chiefly upon general topics, he artfully contrived to intermingle with many expressions of compliment to me, and professions from himself.

Sunday, November 17th. The viceroy returned my visit, and began of his own accord to talk to me of the trade carried on between Great Britain and China, of which he owned he was but imperfectly informed. He therefore desired me to explain to him the principal points in which I wished for his assistance when we came to Canton. When I had done this, he requested me to give it to him in writing, which I told him should be done as soon as possible. He said his reason for asking it was, that he might read it at his leisure, in order to be master of the subject; for he was determined to

do what was equitable and proper ; to grant what was reasonable, and to deny what was not so. He was sensible that some change of conduct towards us would be right, both for the sake of justice, and the reputation of his country ; but he confessed that though his affinity to the emperor and his rank in the state afforded him strong ground to stand on, yet he had measures to keep and delicacies to observe ; for he was well aware of the counteraction he must expect at Canton from those who may perhaps be interested in the continuance of those very grievances we suffered ; and that he had heard of the prejudices entertained against us by some of the great people at court, particularly *Foo-chan-tong*, his predecessor, who would not be much pleased to see him adopt a new system, the reverse of his own : but there was another thing which he would candidly mention ; he said, he knew the refusal that had been given by *Cho-chan-tong* to the requests of the embassy, and the disappointment resulting from it ; it was therefore to be apprehended that the English might be led from thence to infer an unfavorable disposition in the court towards them, which it really had not. and to conduct themselves in such a manner, as to defeat any indulgences meant to be granted to them, and consequently render him culpable for any representations he might make in our favor. For this reason he requested me to satisfy him fairly, how I considered matters to stand relative to this point. I told him I should answer him with the utmost frankness, and own that from the reception my requests had met with, I naturally concluded the court of Peking to be indifferent, if not unfriendly, to Great Britain ; and that I should have represented it so

in my dispatches home, if *Sun-ta-gin* had not taken such pains to impress me, as he declared he had the highest authority to do, with the emperor's favorable sentiments towards us and our concerns, and if he, the viceroy himself, had not confirmed them at the first conference I had with him in the presence of *Sun-ta-gin*. That the solemn assurances then given to me, by him and *Sun-ta-gin*, had not only prevented me from writing in the manner that I had intended, but induced me to inform my court that, notwithstanding what had passed at Peking, I had since that time received so many kind messages and promises from thence, that I could not doubt of a very serious attention being paid to my representations. That thus the matter now stood, and that it rested with him to determine whether I had deceived my own court or not. It was from what he should do, not from what I should write, that they would form a judgment. Soon after the viceroy left me, he sent presents of tea, fans, and perfumes to me, and to all the gentlemen of the embassy.

We have now quitted the mountains, and are got into a charming fruitful country. Here the tea-tree grows in great abundance on the dry rising grounds. The mulberry flourishes most on the loamy flats. I have given directions to have some young plants of these taken up, if possible, as also of the varnish-tree and tallow-tree, with an intention of sending them to Bengal, in hopes of Colonel Kyd's being able to nurse them and bring them to maturity, so that one day or other they may be reckoned among the commercial resources of our own territories. I shall add the eggs of the

silk-worms, which I at last, and with great difficulty, have been so fortunate as to procure; the Chinese, whether from jealousy, or superstition, or both, could scarcely be persuaded to part with them.

Monday, November 18th. The river spreads here a good deal and is very shallow. The banks rich, pleasant, and generally level; but we see the mountains at a distance before us, and approach them very fast; I suppose we shall be amongst them to-morrow. Here we observe many groves of oranges.

This evening *Van-ta-gin* brought two genteel young men with him on board my yacht, and presented them to me, as the ambassadors from the king of the *Lieu-kieu* islands, now on their way to Peking; regularly once in two years this prince sends such ambassadors to *Emoi* in the province of *Fo-kien* (no other port being open to these strangers) from whence they proceed by this route to carry their master's homage and tribute to the emperor. They speak Chinese well, but have a proper language of their own, whether approaching to the Japanese or Corean, I could not well comprehend. They told me that no European vessels had ever touched at their islands; but that if they should come, they would be well received. There is no prohibition against foreign intercourse; they have a fine harbor capable of admitting the largest vessels, not far from their capital, which is considerable in extent and population. They raise a coarse kind of tea, but far inferior to the Chinese, and have many mines of copper and iron. No gold or silver mines have as.

yet been discovered among them, which may, in some measure, account for these islands being so little known. The dress which these ambassadors wore I particularly remarked: it is a very fine sort of shawl made in their own country, dyed of a beautiful brown color, and lined with a squirrel-skin, or *petit-gris*. They wore turbans very neatly folded round their heads; one was of yellow silk, and the other of purple. They had neither linen nor cotton in any part of their dress that I could perceive. The fashion of their habit was nearly Chinese. They were well-looking, tolerably fair complexioned, well bred, conversible, and communicative. From the geographical position of these islands they should naturally belong either to the Chinese, or the Japanese: they have chosen the protection of the former, and when their sovereign dies, his successor receives a sort of investiture or confirmation from Peking. It would seem that the Japanese give themselves no sort of concern about their neighbors; concentrated and contented in their own empire, they seldom make excursions beyond their own coasts, and are equally averse that their coasts should be visited by others. If circumstances permit, I think it may be worth while to explore these *Lieu-kieu* islands. The climate is temperate, rather cold in winter, but not very hot in the summer.

Tuesday, November 19th. The river is nearly of the same breadth to-day as yesterday, but very unequal in its depth: in some places not less than ten or twelve feet, and in others so shallow that we were often suddenly stopped in our progress. It is quite wonderful to see the strength and expertness of the Chinese boatmen, who, by main bodily might,

often dragged or lifted over sands and gravel almost dry, the yachts we travelled in, some of which were heavily laden and seventy feet in length by twelve feet in the beam. The banks of the river and the views are wild, but not unpleasant, the grounds varied by cultivation in the vallies, and by plantations on the hills, which are neither high nor steep. The people have a boorish, rustic aspect, and are less polished than any we have yet met with. This is a cross passage, the great route from Pekin to Canton being by way of Nankin, and through the Poyang lake; but as we left Nankin on our right hand, in order to come to *Han-chou-fou*, we deviated from the common track, by which means we have had an opportunity of seeing a part of China, which probably no European ever visited before. I am just informed by *Chou-ta-gin*, that the viceroy has received a dispatch from court with an account of Sir Erasmus Gower's arrival in Macao roads on the 31st of last month, so that a letter from Canton to Pekin, and from thence to this place, including every delay, has been transmitted in less than twenty days—so good a look out do the Chinese keep on their coasts, and so watchful have they been of the motions of our ship of war.

Wednesday, November 20th. This evening we arrived at the end of our first navigation from *Han-chou-fou*, and tomorrow we are to cross over land to *You-san-chou* where we are to embark again.

Soon after we came to an anchor, the viceroy visited me and made me an apology for our accommodation, saying, that it was not so good as he wished it to be, on account of the road

being very little frequented. Our accommodation has nevertheless been very good, and I told him I thought so, and that had it been less good, yet, as it was exactly the same he had himself, I could not be discontented.

He seemed still somewhat apprehensive, whether from his own reflections, or from those of his superiors, that I must feel much dissatisfaction at bottom, as I certainly do, in not having succeeded in the points I had solicited, and that consequently my representations at home might be the occasion of future trouble or mischief. He was however much pleased when, on his renewing the subject of our former conversation, I repeated to him exactly what I had said upon it a few days before ; but still doubtful of my sincerity, I found he was desirous of putting it to a test, by his asking me whether I would authorize him to tell the emperor, that the king, my master, would always continue in friendship with him, and in testimony of it would write to him, and send an ambassador again, if the emperor were willing to receive him. I said, that though what I had solicited was refused, yet, in every other respect I had no reason to complain, as the embassy had been very honorably received and entertained ; and that the emperor had sent presents to the king, as marks of his friendship, in return for those sent by the king to the emperor ; that therefore I had no doubt, that the king might go so far as to write to the emperor to acknowledge the receipt of the presents, and the marks of distinction conferred on the embassy. As to matters of business they stood upon a different ground : that the king's original idea was to have an ambassador usually resident in China ; and if I had

found my staying at Peking had been agreeable, I should have remained there a considerable time ; but that frequent and temporary embassies from so great a distance were attended with much trouble and expence to both courts. Nevertheless, I thought that possibly another minister might be sent to China, if there was good ground to expect that such a measure would be requited by adequate advantages. but that my state of health and many other circumstances rendered it impossible for me to think of undertaking a second embassy. He then asked me, if the king were to send here another minister, how soon it could be ; but that he did not mean to propose to me a repetition of so great and splendid an embassy as mine, which he was sensible could not be equipped without great charge and inconvenience. I told him it was not in my power to say how soon, or to calculate any time, the space between England and China being so vast, and sea voyages so precarious. Before he went away he assured me he had received the greatest satisfaction from the different conversations he had had with us, and should immediately write to the emperor, who would be highly pleased, in every respect, with his accounts of us. I gave him the paper which he had desired a few days ago, containing a short sketch of the points I wished to obtain at Canton ; also a letter to be forwarded to Sir Erasmus Gower, and he then returned to his yacht ; but in a few minutes afterwards he came back, and said that as he was going to send a dispatch to court, he thought it would be more agreeable to the emperor, if accompanied with a few words from me to him (the viceroy) in the Chinese style, of general compliment and acknowledgment of the emperor's attention to

us, and his anxiety for our welfare. I thanked him for the suggestion, and told him I should not fail to follow it. Every time we see this gentleman he gains upon our good opinion, and I do not despair of the Company's receiving many advantages by his means. It is true, that he has art and address, and an air of candor to disguise them with; but he has prudence, sagacity, and a sense of character.

Thursday, November 21st. At ten o'clock A. M. set out on our journey by land, and dined at the half-way house, which marks the boundaries of the provinces of *Che-kiang* and *Kiang-si*. We then came on to this place *Yu-san-chien*, having performed the whole journey of twenty-four English miles in less than nine hours. The mode of travelling is either on horseback, in a covered palanquin, or an open chair. Our gentlemen had the choice of their conveyance; but as the weather was uncommonly pleasant most of them preferred riding.

We found this short transition from the water to the land very agreeable, and were highly delighted with the face of the country we passed through. It is much diversified by hills of a moderate size, which, like all I have seen in China, either rise singly from the plain, or in small groups of three or four, and never run into a chain, as is generally the case in other mountainous regions. I did not see a spot in the whole way that was not cultivated with infinite industry, and compelled to produce every grain and vegetable of which it was capable. The soil is naturally indifferent, which renders the farmer wonderfully active in his endeavors to fertilize it;

the case with which every thing convertible into manure is preserved, would appear ridiculous elsewhere, but is here fully justified by the effect. Wherever the sides of the hills admit of it, they are wrought into terraces, graduated with different crops, and watered by the chain pump, which is carried by the husbandman from place to place. The ponds and reservoirs are a public concern, and great justice is observed in the distribution of their contents. The plow is the simplest in the world, has but one handle, is drawn by a single buffalo, and managed by a single person, without any assistance. The husbandry is singularly neat, not a weed to be seen; every thing is sown in drills, and there are never less than two crops in the year, and often three. The mountains are all newly planted with trees, chiefly firs, a great many thousands of acres. This is the case almost the whole way from hence to Canton. For horse and foot the road is excellent, but admits of no wheel carriages, and at every mile there is a village, which is generally extensive and populous.

I must not omit that the viceroy, observing our curiosity about every thing relative to natural history, allowed us, to collect seeds and fossils as we came along, and to take up several tea plants in a growing state with large balls of earth adhering to them, which tea plants I flatter myself I shall be able to transmit to Bengal, where I have no doubt that, by the spirit and patriotism of its government, an effective cultivation of this valuable shrub will be undertaken and pursued with success. The place where we procured our tea plants is nearly in 28° north latitude. The summers here are said to

be very hot, and the winters extremely cold, but not attended with frost or snow. The viceroy has also, with great liberality of mind, sent a Mandarin to the distance of forty miles, with orders to get for us some pieces of *Pe-tun-tse* and *Cao-lin*, and other materials used by the Chinese in the manufacture of their porcelain. In talking with a Chinese one day who came on board my yacht with some plates and dishes, I thought, if I understood him rightly, that he said the asbestos or incombustible fossil stone entered into the composition of China ware.

Friday, November 22d. We have been detained all day at this place (*Yu-san-chien*) by the violent rain which has now fallen for four and twenty hours without intermission.

Saturday, November 23d. Leave *Yu-san-chien* and proceed down the river, which is about eighty yards wide, shallow, and rapid, with steep and well wooded banks on either side.

I delivered to the viceroy the note of compliments which he had suggested to me the idea of, to be transmitted with his letter to Peking. Observing the character of the writing to be remarkably neat, he inquired who had transcribed it? and when I informed him that it was *Little George Staunton*, he would scarcely believe that a boy of twelve years old could have already made such progress, nor was he perfectly satisfied till he had actually seen him add at the bottom of the paper in Chinese characters that it had been written by him.

Sunday, November 24th. Last night we continued our voyage, but so dense a vapor had risen in consequence of the late rains and overspread the atmosphere, that though the river widened and deepened considerably, our navigation seemed often attended with danger. Our vessels frequently struck upon the shelves and sometimes ran foul of each other with a sudden crash; thus contributing not a little to the dismal character of the night, which was still, moist, cold and comfortless. The mist grew every moment darker and heavier, and so magnified the objects around us, that no wonder our senses and imaginations were equally deceived and disturbed, and that the temples, turrets and pagodas appeared to us through the fog, as we sailed along, like so many phantoms of giants and monsters flitting away from us, and vanishing in the gloom. At noon we stopped at *Ho-cou*, a large handsome village, built close upon the water's edge, opposite to a singular range of hills, shaped like reversed punchbowls, and composed chiefly of black rock, in the rifts of which several very large trees were growing. We have now changed our yachts for vessels of a large size, and are proceeding in them. The small ones were very pleasant and convenient, but had not sufficient room for the proper stowage of our baggage.

Monday, November 25th. Came this morning to *Qui-te-chou*, a large village, and stopped some hours.

Tuesday, November 26th. The river expands to the breadth of half a mile; a fine level country, not naturally very fertile, but wonderfully well cultivated. The Chinese

are certainly the best husbandmen in the world. The greater part of the province of *Kiang-si*, that I have yet seen, has a poor soil.

We arrived this evening at *Poyang-hou* near the great Poyang lake. I can hear nothing about the fish here that Mr. Penant desired me to inquire for.

Wednesday, November 27th. Proceeded, at a little after midnight, as soon as the moon was up. The famous town of *Kin-chin-fou*, (the capital of the porcelain manufactory of the empire) lies at no great distance from our route, and it would have been very desirable to see it; but we were so circumscribed that it was not to be done without many difficulties, which I thought it better to avoid.

Thursday, November 28th. The weather this morning was very sharp; Fahrenheit's thermometer at 56° at noon. Passed by *Nan-chan-fou*, a very large city on a low sandy point, where the river divides into two broad branches. The shores flat and barren; high mountains to the N.W. at fifteen or twenty miles distance.

Friday, November 29th. We stopped all last night at a village, about four miles from *Nan-chan-fou*, where the *Poo-yen* or governor of the province paid us a visit, and brought us presents of tea and tea-cups, some beads, pieces of silk, and red Nankin. I returned his compliment with a pair of pearl watches, an assortment of hardware, knives, scissors, wine, and brandy.

Saturday, November 30th. The river still continues wide but, in general, very shallow. The shores are flat and sandy and, in the wet season, the whole country must be under water to a vast extent. No trees or houses to be seen, but on a few elevated spots. The weather cold; no sun.

Sunday, December 1st. This morning we approached the mountains, and our course now lies among them, and generally close to the foot of them, although there is sometimes on the other side of us a plain of two or three miles across. We observe several buildings on the tops of them, which have the appearance of watch-towers, somewhat resembling those I have seen on the coast of Spain, between Carthage and Malaga. There are also some very pretty white pagodas of nine stories high, newly built on lesser eminences near the banks. Stopped for a few hours at the town of *Ki-gan-fou*. The weather cold; no sun.

Monday, December 2d. Our voyage to-day was through a country that afforded very beautiful scenery. The river is still shallow but very broad, spreading over a vast bed of small round pebbles. A forest of many miles in extent covered all the eastern bank. I observed several large firs, of different kinds, and among them the *Pinaster*; but the predominant trees were of broad leaf, though I could not well distinguish their species. The tops of hills, and every other space where nothing but timber will grow, are planted with trees of different sorts.

From *Han-chou-fou* to Canton many millions of acres are covered with young fir-trees besides the great old woods. We caught here some fish, but not like any which I am acquainted with. We passed a great many floats, or balzas, of timber, some of several hundred feet long; they are navigated with a mast and sails, and have houses raised upon them for the habitation of the skippers and their families. Such numbers of children as poured out from them to see us, can only be compared to bees rushing from their hives at the time of swarming. The weather cold; no sun.

Tuesday, December 3d. The river now becomes much narrower and deeper, being pent up between the mountains, which shut it in so closely and approach so near to each other that, till the moment we come to the opening, we can scarcely imagine the possibility of a passage.

To the left is the walled town of *Ouan-gan-hien*, which we passed without stopping, and came to this village where we are to remain for the night. The weather still cold, and no sun.

Wednesday, December 4th. Continued our voyage this morning; the country less mountainous, and more diversified. Several pretty white pagados lately erected, and generally in happy situations, appear within view, and show that whatever may be the case elsewhere, the devotion of the inhabitants here is by no means in the wane.

The viceroy, accompanied by *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, paid me a long visit this evening; they came at eight o'clock

and staid till this moment. It is now midnight. The viceroy was uncommonly civil and sociable, and talked freely on a great variety of things. He asked several questions relative to Canton, to the value and amount of our trade there, and that of other nations; and what surprised me, he seemed to know already the difference between the country ships from India, and the ships of the Company. He suspects great peculation among the public officers at Canton, and that the emperor is much defrauded in his revenue there. I answered him with a proper reserve, saying, that as I had never been at Canton, I could not speak with precision; but that when I arrived there I should endeavor to procure for him any information in my power that he wished to have: He requested that I would, and, at the same time, desired *Chou-ta-gin*, who is the man of letters and business, to take notes of what I should mention to him.

Having occasion to light his pipe, and his attendants being absent, I took out of my pocket a small phosphoric bottle, and instantly kindled a match at it. The singularity of a man's carrying fire in his sob without damage startled him a good deal; I therefore explained to him the phenomenon, and made him a present of the bottle. This little incident led to a conversation upon other curious subjects, from which it appeared to us how far the Chinese (although they excel in some branches of mechanics) are yet behind other nations in medical or surgical skill and philosophical knowledge. Having often observed numbers of blind persons, but never having met a wooden leg, or a deformed limb here,

I concluded that good oculists were very rare, and that death was the usual consequence of a fracture. The viceroy told me I was right in my conjecture; but when I told him of many things in England, and which I had brought people with me to instruct the Chinese in, if it had been allowed, such as the re-animating drowned persons by a mechanical operation, restoring sight to the blind by the extraction or depression of the glaucoma, and repairing or amputating limbs by manual dexterity, both he and his companions seemed as if awakened out of a dream, and could not conceal their regret for the court's coldness and indifference to our discoveries. From the manner of these gentlemen's inquiries, the remarks which they made, and the impressions they seemed to feel, I have conceived a much higher opinion of their liberality and understanding. Whether in these two respects the minister be really inferior to them, or whether he acts upon a certain public system, which often supersedes private conviction, I know not; but certain it is, that in a conversation we had at Gehol, when I mentioned to him some recent inventions. The European ingenuity, particularly that of the air-bath, and that I had taken care to provide one at Peking, with a person to go up in it, he not only discouraged that experiment, but most of the others which, from a perusal of all the printed accounts of this country, we had calculated and prepared for the meridian of China. Whatever taste the emperor *Cam-hi* might have shown for the sciences, as related by the jesuits in his day, his successors have not inherited it with his other great qualities and possessions; for it would now seem that the policy and vanity of the court equally concurred in endeavoring to

keep out of sight whatever can manifest our pre-eminence, which they undoubtedly feel, but have not as yet learned to make the proper use of. It is, however, in vain to attempt arresting the progress of human knowledge. The human mind is of a soaring nature, and having once gained the lower steps of the ascent, struggles incessantly against every difficulty to reach the highest. Whatever ought to be will be; the resistance of adamant is insufficient to defeat the insinuation of a fibre; time is the great wonder-worker of our world; the exterminator of prejudice, and the touchstone of truth; it is endless to oppose it; power becomes enervate, and effort ridiculous: the tyranny or spectre of a state may stalk abroad in all its terrors, and for a while may force a base currency on the timorous multitude; but in spite of those terrors there is always a certain counteraction fearlessly working in the mint of common sense, industriously refining the ore, and imperceptibly issuing or emitting a standard metal, whose intrinsic value soon degrades and baffles every artifice of impure coinage. I am indeed very much mistaken, if all the authority and all the address of the Tartar government will be able much longer to stifle the energies of their Chinese subjects. Scarcely a year now passes without an insurrection in some of the provinces. It is true, they are usually soon suppressed; but their frequency is a strong symptom of the fever within. The paroxysm is repelled; but the disease is not cured.

Thursday, December 5th. The sun shines out this morning which, after so long an absence, is a very welcome and cheerful appearance. High hills rise on each side of the

river, planted and cultivated with trees and grain on terraces, and embellished with small neat villages, perched on ledges of rock, wherever the projection could sustain a superstructure.

Stopped this evening at *Kian-chou-fou*, a large walled city of the first order. On our arrival before the town we had a profusion of military honors; I may here remark, once for all, that at every place on the way where troops were stationed, they always turned out for us, unfurled their colors, sounded their music, and saluted with three guns, which number is never exceeded on such occasions. They also frequently sent us little presents of fruit and other refreshments.

Friday, December 6th. A fine sunshiny day again. We now observe vast plantations of sugar-canes (ripe and fit for cutting) on the flats at each side above the river, which here sinks twenty feet below the surface of the country. The water is however easily raised to the level required by a wheel which the current gives motion to. The nave is made of strong timber; but the other parts, the fellics, the spokes, the scoops, &c. are chiefly of light bamboo. As this machine appeared to me equally simple and efficient, I desired a model and a drawing to be made from it; our latitude at noon 26° north.

Saturday, December 7th. So shallow was the river to-day in many places, that our yachts were actually forced along the bottom, by mere corporal exertion. They draw

from ten to twelve inches, and the depth of the water, where I measured it, was not eleven.

We are now obliged to change them, and to-morrow shall proceed in smaller ones.

Sunday, December 8th. The distant prospect is mountainous; but all the level ground is covered with sugar canes. The thermometer at 68°. The weather very pleasant.

Monday, December 9th. The weather is still delightful; but the country more barren than any we have observed in our progress. In this province the women of the lower sort, whom we saw, have their feet generally of the natural size, and ~~and~~ without shoes or other covering of that sort; they are ~~more~~ ill favored and, except by wearing their hair and having rings in their ears, are scarcely distinguishable from their husbands. They are so strong and accustomed to labor that, it is said, many Chinese come into *Kiang-si* from the other provinces to improve their fortunes by marrying what they call a working wife.

At nine P.M. we arrived at this place (*Nan-gan-fou*); here the viceroy shewed me a paper or edict from the emperor addressed to him, of which I am to have a copy: as it was explained to me, it seems conceived in very friendly terms, saying, that if the king should send a minister again to China he would be well received; but in such case, it is desired that he should come to Canton, which implies a

sort of disapprobation of our having gone up the gulph of *Pe-che-li*; nevertheless I would not for any consideration that we had not, as by these means we are now masters of the geography of the north-east coasts of China, and have acquired a knowledge of the Yellow Sea, which was never before navigated by European ships.

The viceroy told me, that he had sent my letters to Canton at the time I delivered them to him; he had not yet received any news from thence about the *Lion*, which makes me very apprehensive that Sir Erasmus Gower may be gone away.

Tuesday, December 10th. This morning we set out by land from *Nan-gan-fou*, which is a large walled city, situated on the side of a steep hill rising abruptly from the left shore of the river. We travelled in the same manner as in our former expedition, some in palankeens and some on horseback, according to the conveyance they liked best.

From *Nan-gan-fou* to *You-chan*, where we stopped to dine, are fifteen miles, through a romantic Alpine country, and over a mountain that divides the provinces of *Kiang-si* and *Quan-tong*. This mountain is, I believe, one of the highest in China, being the source of two rivers which run into the sea in opposite directions, one discharging itself to the north-east, and another to the south-west. By making a considerable detour we might have avoided it; but the industry of the Chinese has rendered any deviation unnecessary by cutting a safe and commodious horse road over it in a

gentle zig-zag from the bottom to the top. There is then a regular inclined plane of eighteen miles to this place (*Nan-chou-fou*) forming one of the richest countries in the world, entirely covered with rice on terraces; a grain which, though not approved of by some, I believe to be a very strong and wholesome food. The common people, who live chiefly upon it, and who have but a spare allowance, are extremely vigorous, hardy, and chearful; four of them carrying my palankeen without effort, and stepping under it with agility. In our navigations from *Han-chou-fou*, the boatmen were usually wet up to their knees twenty times in a day, and sometimes almost the whole day, dragging our yachts along, and often actually lifting them by mere bodily force over the shallows that occurred so often in the course of the rivers, which we travelled upon. I have seen two Chinese raise nearly a ton weight between them, and pass it from one vessel to another. I doubt whether the labor of a negro in our West Indies be near so constant, harassing, toilsome, or consuming as that of the Chinese boatmen. They seem to work night and day with very little intermission; and every exertion they make is accompanied by such vocal efforts, such a screaming symphony, as would alone exhaust an European more than any manual employment.

The whole distance from *Nan-gang-fou* to *Nan-chou-fou* is about twenty-four miles, and we performed the journey in nine hours, the time of baiting included. The horses on this road are remarkably small; but hardy and nimble. They have not handsome forehands, but are otherwise well shaped, with limbs as clean and slender as those of a stag. To the

southward of *Nan-chou-fou* the people seem less civilized than on the other side of the mountain.

Wednesday, December 11th. The city of *Nan-chou-fou* is very extensive and wonderfully populous. We were upwards of an hour in passing from our entrance at the first gate to our quarters, which were in a spacious public edifice, with a large hall in the centre of it, where the provincial candidates for literary degrees (which alone qualify for civil offices in China) are examined and received. Here most of the gentlemen of the embassy slept; but as my yacht was ready prepared, I preferred settling myself in it at once. The towns we have seen, since our leaving *Tong-siou*, generally resemble one another. The streets long, straight, and narrow; the houses dark and dismal, most of them shops, populous and busy.

This day we left *Nan-chou-fou*, and proceeded on our voyage. A little below the place of our embarking, we passed under a bridge of three hundred yards long, built with stone piers, over which are laid great balks and beams of rough timber, and then a floor of planks.

The river below the bridge is very shallow, and the navigation becomes every day more difficult; for the banks are of a loose sand, which the least swelling of the waters washes into the channel and forms into spits and ridges, which scarcely any industry can remove. Our present boats are therefore small; but we are to change into larger at *Chao-chou-fou* where the river begins to deepen. From *Nan-chou-*

fou the passage to Canton is usually made in seven or eight days; but we shall probably be longer, in order to give time to the viceroy to get there a little before us, to prepare for our reception. He has been constantly with us till now, ever since we left *Han-chou-fou*. When he took leave of us to-day, he told us that he had written to the emperor in such terms upon our subject, that he was persuaded we should leave China not only without dissatisfaction but with essential proofs of the emperor's favor. I said that his indulgence to the king my master's subjects at Canton would be the most essential and acceptable favors he could possibly confer upon me. I have now good reason to know that *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* have sincerely endeavoured to promote our interests. The viceroy appears to have much confidence in them, and to treat them with great respect and regard.

Thursday, December 12th. The weather to-day is very fine and cool; the river still shallow; the country sandy, barren, and wild. We expect to reach *Chao-chou-fou* to-morrow at noon.

Ian-ta-gin, who is an old soldier, and of high reputation in his profession, told me that he calculated the military force of China to be equal to one million eight hundred thousand men, and on my close questioning him, said he would give me a statement of it in writing. In like manner *Chou-ta-gin*, who is a civil officer, and has been governor of several extensive districts, estimated the population of the empire at above three hundred and thirty millions, and the

annual revenue at fifty to sixty millions sterling, of which, after paying the civil and military expenses, near ten millions came nett into the emperor's coffers. He affirmed, that there could be no question of the accuracy of his account, as he had received it from the heads of office at Peking, who were his particular friends ; and he added, that if I had any doubts he would give me a copy of it. How far the information of these gentlemen may be exact, or approaching to truth (for it is natural to amplify upon such subjects) may be conjectured with more probability, when I peruse the details which they have promised me, and compared them with other documents ; but great allowances must be made for the particular light in which they see things, and the manner in which they consider them, both perhaps very different from our ideas relative to similar objects. I suspect, indeed, from what dropped in the conversation, that *Van-ta-gin*, in his computation of the army, reckons the Tartar banners ; and that *Chou-ta-gin*, in his statement of the population of the empire, comprehends the old Mantchou dominions of the reigning family, and the new conquests in West Tartary ; and that under the head of revenue, he includes without discrimination whatever is levied upon the subject. Now if I were asked the amount of the revenue of Great Britain, I should naturally answer off hand, sixteen or seventeen millions, without thinking of Ireland, of India, of tithes, poor's rates, roads, turnpikes, canals, or, parish assessments, which amount to a prodigious sum ; but, though levied on the people, and felt as severely as any other taxes, do not enter into the king's treasury. Neither would I have reckoned on the military establishment, the troops in Ireland, nor the

Company's army in India, because not paid by, nor accounted for to, the British parliament, although certainly on a great view of our empire all these things, which I should have omitted, ought properly to be included. But when it is considered that China, exclusive of the emperor's Tartar dominions, is about eight times as big as France, infinitely more populous in comparison to its extent, far better cultivated, and receiving annually for ages a great commercial balance in its favor, it is possible that my friends may not be guilty of so much exaggeration, as one at first sight would imagine.

Friday, December 13th. Arrived before *Chao-chou-fou* at one o'clock A. M. Our course this morning was through a pleasant, romantic, but barren country. The river grows gradually wider and deeper, the mountains on each side are composed of a dark colored stone, in regular strata of eight to ten feet thick. Here and there are a few stunted fir-trees; but I saw nothing like timber. The lesser hills are either burial grounds, or military stations, with signal houses erected on them. From *Chao-chou-fou* which is a large city, we fell down the river about four or five hundred yards to a sort of suburb or village on the opposite bank, where we quitted our smaller yachts, and went into the larger ones that were prepared for us. It is observable, that the rendezvous for boats and travellers is usually without the walls of the cities, so that the interior, where the prisons, granaries, and public offices are kept, is preserved free from the noise, bustle, and turbulence which must necessarily prevail where there is a

perpetual concourse of watermen, who are commonly more disorderly than the other classes of the people.

Saturday, December 14th. Proceeded to-day from *Chao-chou-fou*, and came to this place (*Quan-yong-gan*); here we mean to pass the night, that in the morning we may have an opportunity of visiting the neighboring Miao or temple of Pusa, who is said to have been a near relation of Fo, and is much in vogue among the devotees of this province.

Sunday, December 15th. My curiosity having been much excited by the accounts which I had heard of the temple of Pusa, I rose at an early hour and embarked in a small shallop, in order to avoid interruption or incumbrance. The morning was remarkably fine, the sun rose with uncommon brilliancy, and the whole face of nature was lighted up with cheerfulness and beauty. Before we had proceeded many hundred yards we were attracted to the left by an arm of the river, which, after stretching considerably from the main stream, had bent and elbowed itself into a deep cove or bason, above which enormous masses of rocks rose abruptly on every side, agglomerating to a stupendous height and menacing collision. The included flood was motionless, silent, sullen, black. The ledge where we landed was so narrow that we could not stand upon it without difficulty, we were hemmed round with danger. The mountains frowned on us from on high; the precipices startled us from beneath. Our only safety seemed even in the jaws of a cavern that yawned in our front. We plunged into it without hesitating,

and, for a moment, felt the joys of a sudden escape: but our terrors returned when we surveyed our asylum. We found ourselves at the bottom of a stair-case hewn in the rock, long, narrow, steep, and rugged. At a distance a feeble taper glimmered from above, and faintly discovered to us the secrets of the vault. We, however, looked forward to it as our pole star; we scrambled up the steps, and with much trouble and fatigue arrived at the landing place. Here an ancient, bald-headed Bonze issued from his den, and offered himself as our conductor through this subterraneous labyrinth. The first place he led us to was the grand hall, or refectory of the convent. It is an excavation forming nearly a cube of twenty-five feet, through one face of which is a considerable opening that looks over the water, and is barricadoed with a rail. This apartment is well furnished in the taste of the country, with tables and chairs highly varnished, and with many gauze and paper lanterns of various colors, in the middle of which was suspended a glass lantern of prodigious size made in London, the offering of an opulent Chinese bigot at Canton. From hence we mounted by an ascent of many difficult steps to the temple itself, which is directly over the hall, but of much greater extent. Here the god, Pusa, is displayed in all his glory, a gigantic image with a Saracen face, grinning horribly from a double row of gilded fangs, a crown upon his head, a naked cimeter in one hand, and a fire-brand in the other. But how little, alas! is celestial or sublunary fame; I could learn very few particulars of this colossal divinity. Even the Bonzes, who live by his worship, scarcely knew any thing of his history. From the attributes he is armed with, I suppose

he was some great Tartar prince or commander of antiquity, and if he bore any resemblance to his representative, he must have been a most formidable warrior and, probably, little inferior in his day to the king of Prussia or prince Ferdinand in our own. A magnificent altar was dressed out at his feet, with lamps, lanthorns, candles and candlesticks, censers and perfumes, strongly resembling the decorations of a Romish chapel, and on the walls were hung numerous tablets inscribed in large characters, with moral sentences and exhortations to pious alms and religion.

Opposite to the image is a wide breach in the wall, down from which the perpendicular view requires the firmest nerves and the steadiest head to resist its impression. The convulsed rocks, above shooting their tottering shadows into the distant light, the slumbering abyss below, the superstitious gloom brooding upon the whole, all conspired to strike the mind with accumulated horror and the most terrifying images. From the chapel we were led through several long and narrow galleries to the rest of the apartments, which had been all wrought in the rock by invincible labor and perseverance into kitchens, cells, cellars, and other recesses of various kinds. The Bohzes having now learned the quality of their visitors had lighted an additional number of torches and flambeaux, by which means we were enabled to see all the interior of the Souterrain, and to examine into the nature of its inhabitants, and their manner of living in it. Here we beheld a number of our fellow creatures, endowed with faculties like our own, (*"some breasts once pregnant with celestial fire,"*) buried under a mountain, and chained to a rock, to

be incessantly gnawed by the vultures of superstition and fanaticism. Their condition appeared to us to be the last stage of monastic misery; the lowest degradation of humanity. The aspiring thoughts and elegant desires, the promethean heat, the nobler energies of the soul, the native dignity of man, all sunk, rotting, or extinguished in a hopeless dungeon of religious insanity. From such scenes the offended eye turns away with pity and disdain, and looks with impatience for a ray of relief from the light of reason and philosophy.

At my departure, I left among this wretched community a small donation, which was, however, so far above their expectations, that I think it not unlikely they will insert a new clause in their litany, and heartily pray that the Chinese government may adopt a more liberal policy, and open the country to the free inspection and curiosity of English travellers. *

* Upon lately reading this account of the temple of Puso to one or two gentlemen who had visited it as well as myself, I find that though they perfectly agree in their recollection of all the principal features of the place, they think them rather heightened and surcharged. This I think it fair to take notice of, but at the same time I must add that I wrote the above description immediately on my returning to my yacht, merely for the purpose of aiding my recollection, and certainly without any intention of imposing upon myself, or upon others.

Scarcely any two travellers, however, see the same objects in the same light, or remember them with the same accuracy. What is involved in darkness to the optics of one man, is often arrayed in the brightest colors to those of another.

An impression vanishes or endures, according to the material that receives it. I have therefore often thought what amusement and instruction might be derived from a perusal of the journals kept (if such have been kept) by the different persons belonging to my embassy. Even the memorandums of a *Valet de Chambre* might be of some value.

I remember to have seen in Portugal, near Cape Roxent, a Franciscan monastery, that this temple of Puso put me a good deal in mind of. I mean what is usually called the Cork Convent, which is an excavation of considerable extent under a hill, divided into a great number of cells, and fitted up with a church, sacristy, refectory, and every requisite apartment for the accommodation of the miserable cordeliers who burrow in it. The inside is entirely lined with cork; the walls, the roofs, the floors are covered with cork; the tables, seats, chairs, beds, couches, the furniture of the chapel, the crucifixes, and every other implement, all made of cork. The place was certainly dismal and comfortless to a great degree; but it wanted the gigantic form, the grim features, the terrific aspect which distinguish the temple of Puso.

In travelling through this country, whenever I meet with any thing singular or extraordinary, I usually endeavor to recollect whether I have seen any thing analagous to it elsewhere. By comparing such objects together, and attentively marking their similitude and difference, a common origin of principles, customs, and manners may sometimes be traced and discovered in nations the most remote from each other.

Monday, December 16th. The river now flows between two rows of high, steep, green hills, broad, smooth, and deep. On the side of one of these hills I observed a black patch of very considerable extent, inclosed within a pale, and found, upon a nearer approach, that it was a great mass of coal emerging above the surface; and, I understand, that

all this part of the country abounds with that substance, although very little use is made of it by the Chinese.

The weather for these two days past has been very sharp, with a clear, frosty air. The thermometer at 50° this morning, and at 63° in the middle of the day.

We stopped at *Tchin-yuan*, and *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta gin* passed the whole evening with me.

Having observed many barren spots and wild mountains at different distances, in the course of our journey from Peking, and particularly in this neighborhood, I took occasion to ask them some questions on the subject, and I learned from them that all uncultivated or desert lands are supposed to belong to the sovereign ; but any person, on giving notice of his intention to the nearest magistrate, may cultivate them, if he chuses it, and thereby acquire the property of them ; for there is no such thing in China as a waste or common, depending upon a manor or lordship, for the purpose of feeding the game or the vanity of an ideal paramount. But, in truth, I believe there is scarcely an acre of cultivable land in China, that is not cultivated. Although a general resemblance runs through the whole nation, as viewed in the gross, yet almost every province has its own particular mode of husbandry, and varies also from the rest in many other points. The boats of the different rivers are all of a different built, adapted to the nature of the stream. We have sailed in five or six of perfectly distinct constructions between *Tung-siou* and this place.

Van-ta-gin and *Chou-ta-gin* gave me the following particulars of the emperor's usual course of life, when not engaged in hunting, or in other excursions.

He rises at 3 o'clock A. M. and then goes to his private pagoda to worship Fo. He then reads the dispatches of the different officers, who, from their stations, are permitted to write to him directly. At seven o'clock A. M. he breakfasts, after which he amuses himself about his palace and gardens with his women and eunuchs.

He then sends for the first colao, or chief minister, with whom he transacts the current business, and then has a kind of levée, which is attended by all the calaos and great Mandarines, who have the *entrées*. He dines usually at three o'clock P. M. and then goes to the theatre, or other diversion of the day, after which he retires and amuses himself with reading till bed time, the hour of which is never later than seven o'clock in the evening. A principal eunuch is always in waiting during the night, in order to conduct to him any of the ladies whom he chuses to call for.

The female establishment is one empress, now dead. Two queens of the first rank. Six queens of the second rank, one hundred concubines.

He has sons by the late empress, and has others by his queens and concubines, also several daughters, who are married to Tartar Princes and other Tartars of distinction, but none of them to Chinese. He is a man of great parts, learn-

ing, and application: religious and charitable, affable and affectioned to his subjects; vindictive and relentless to his enemies: much elated with his greatness and prosperity, and impatient of the slightest reverse or mischance; jealous of his power, suspicious of his ministers, and when angry not easily appeased. He has never admitted any of his sons to the smallest share of confidence or authority, although some of them are upwards of forty years old: nor is it known or presumed whom he intends for his successor. *Min-yul-ye*, his eldest grandson, is a man of capacity, has been employed in affairs, and is supposed to be much in his favor.

Some years since the emperor had pretended that he was weary of his throne, and fixed a time for his retiring from it, but as the period approached, he began to think it better to defer his resignation to a more distant day. At present it stands for 1796 but it is by no means certain that it will then take place. He is naturally of a healthy constitution, and of great bodily strength and, though upwards of eighty-three years old, is as yet but little afflicted with the infirmities of age. These particulars, relative to this great personage, I have set down as I received them from my two friends, who have given them to me, I am persuaded, according to the best of their knowledge and opinion. From their rank and situation they have certainly had good opportunities of obtaining intelligence and of forming their judgments.

Tuesday, December 17th. The river now grows very broad and meets the tide here, being thirty miles above Canton

The mountains on each side are at seven or eight miles distance.

We stopped at *San-chou-hien*, where the state yachts were in waiting to convey us to Canton, but as the viceroy's preparations for our reception are not yet quite completed, I understand that we shall not arrive there till Thursday.

Wednesday, December 18th. Early this morning we passed by the town of *Fou-sang*, which is a very considerable one, and arrived before noon at a garden house belonging to the Chinese Hong merchants of Canton, where we found Messieurs Browne, Irwin, and Jackson, the company's commissioners, together with Mr. Hall the secretary; they had come up from Canton to meet us, and had brought with them our letters and packets from Europe which, after a fifteen months' absence, were singularly acceptable. By these we have learned the state of affairs between Great Britain and France. It now remains to consider how far the motions of the embassy are to be regulated by it. The commissioners inform me, that my letters had been forwarded to Sir Erasmus Gower, and that the Lion is now lying below the second bar.

They presented to me the Hong merchants, who had come from Canton on purpose to pay their respects to the embassy.

To-morrow we make our entry into Canton.

I cannot omit remarking that, in the course of our navigation from *Nan-chou-fou*, we have had an uncommon profusion of military honors lavished upon us every where, as we passed along, which I attribute to the viceroy's having given particular directions for the purpose, as he preceded us. As the Chinese consider the province of Canton to be the most obnoxious to invasion from the sea, the military posts in it are very numerous. There seemed to be an affected reiteration of salutes, wherever we appeared, in order, I presume, to impress us with an idea of the vigilance and alertness of the troops, and to show that they were not unprepared against an enemy. Nevertheless, as they are totally ignorant of our discipline, cumbrously clothed, armed only with matchlocks, bows, and arrows, and heavy swords, awkward in the management of them, of an unwarlike character and disposition ; I imagine they would make but a feeble resistance to a well-conducted attack. The circumstance of greatest embarrassment to an invader would be their immense numbers, not on account of the mischief they could do to him, but that he would find no end of doing mischief to them. The slaughter of millions would scarcely be perceived ; and unless the people themselves soon voluntarily submitted, the victor might indeed reap the vanity of destruction, but not the glory or use of dominion.

Thursday, December 19th. At eleven o'clock A. M. we set out in the state barges for Canton and, at half an hour after one, were landed at the great stairs of the island house, which had been prepared for our reception. From the stairs we walked upon a stage of fifty or sixty yards long, covered

with carpets, till we reached the place where it united with the *terra firma*. Here we were received by the viceroys, the *Foo-yen* or governor, the *Hou-pou* or treasurer, and the principal Mandarines of rank in this neighborhood, all dressed in their robes of ceremony. We were then conducted into a very large apartment, with double semicircular rows of arm-chairs on each side. The viceroy and his assessors took their stations opposite to us, and a conversation began, which lasted about an hour. It chiefly turned upon the incidents of our journey from Peking, and the arrival of the Lion, which the viceroy requested might come up to Wampo. We then adjourned to the theatre, on which a company of comedians (who are reckoned capital performers, and had been ordered down from *Nan-kin* on purpose) were prepared to entertain us; and here we found a most magnificent Chinese dinner spread out upon the tables, and a display of the presents given upon this occasion. The viceroy conducted the whole ceremony with the greatest dignity and propriety, distinguishing us by the most pointed marks of respect and regard, (things quite new and astonishing to the Chinese here, who are totally unused to see foreigners treated with any attention,) and evincing in every instance the high consideration which the embassy was held in by the government.

Our quarters are on an island, opposite to the English factory which is situated on the main land in the suburbs of the city of Canton. The river that divides us is about half a mile broad. These quarters consist of several pavilions or separate buildings, very spacious and convenient, and some of them fitted up in the English manner, with glass windows

and fire grates, which latter, at this season, although we are on the edge of the tropic, are very comfortable pieces of furniture. Our habitations are in the midst of a large garden, adorned with ponds and parterres, and with flowers, trees, and shrubs, curious either from rarity or beauty. On one side of us is a magnificent *miao* or Bonze temple, and on the other a large edifice, from the top of which is a very fine view of the river and shipping, the city and the country to a great extent.

Friday, December 20th. The theatre, which is a very elegant building, with the stage open to the garden, being just opposite my pavilion, I was surprised when I rose this morning to see the comedy already begun, and the actors performing in full dress; for it seems this was not a rehearsal, but one of their regular formal pieces. I understand that whenever the Chinese mean to entertain their friends with particular distinction, an indispensable article is a comedy, or rather a string of comedies, which are acted one after the other without intermission for several hours together. The actors now here have, I find, received directions to amuse us constantly in this way, during the time of our residence, but as soon as I see our conductors I shall endeavor to have them relieved, if I can do it without giving offence to the taste of the nation, or having my own called in question.

In case his imperial majesty *Kien-long* should send ambassadors to the court of Great Britain, there would be something comical, according to our manners, if my lord-chamberlain Salisbury were to issue an order to Messrs. Harris

and Sheridan, the king's patentees, to exhibit Messrs. Lewis and Kemble, Mrs. Siddons and Miss Farren during several days or rather nights together, for the entertainment of their Chinese excellencies. I am afraid, they would at first feel the powers of the great buttresses of Drury-lane and Covent-garden as little affecting to them; as the exertions of these capital actors from Nankin have been to us.

We have found here five Indiamen almost ready to sail for England, viz. the *Bombay Castle*, the *Brunswick*, the *Minerva*, the *Chesterfield*, and the *Bellona*, (a Botany Bay ship,) and this day news is come of the arrival of the *Thurlo*, the *Abergavenny*, the *Osterly*, the *Glatton*, and the *Ceres*, from *Manilla*, at which place they called in their way hither. Several more are expected from England; cargoes are provided, and ready not only for all these but for two more. The two more however will not be wanting this season, as the *Princess Royal* has been taken by the French in the Straights of *Sunda*, and the destination of another expected ship has been altered at home.

Saturday, December 21st.—Sunday, December 22.—Monday, December 23. These three days have been chiefly taken up in receiving visits from the viceroy, the *Foo-yen* or governor, the *Hou-pou* or treasurer, the *Song-pin* or governor of *Chao-chou-fou*, and several other great Mandarines, some of whom, I find, are come from a considerable distance to see us. The great public honors and respect paid here to the embassy cannot fail, I think, to have a very good effect upon the people in favor of our factory. In these

visits I explained at length the different grievances of our trade; the *Hou-pou* was averse to any alterations, and wished every thing to remain as he found it. The viceroy thought every reasonable alteration should be made, and they debated together with great earnestness for a considerable time. The subject was renewed again and again, and I should hope, from the viceroy's professions and assurances, that we have got the better of the *Hou-pou*.

We have also been employed in consulting and settling with the commissioners, the destination and departure of the ships, and in preparing our letters for England.

After maturely considering all the circumstances before me, reflecting upon the state of the ships now ready to sail, and upon the value of the cargoes provided for loading the ships lately arrived, and those still expected this season (which cargoes, when sold, I can scarcely estimate at less than three millions sterling) having ascertained the capture of the *Princess Royal* in the Straights of Sunda, by a French force cruising there; carefully perused the letters lately received from Batavia; having no notice or intelligence of any convoy intended to be sent from home; aware of the present situation of *Cochin-China*, both with respect to its internal commotions, and its pretended dependence on this empire; combining all these things together, I have now, however painful to me, been obliged to dismiss from my mind many flattering ideas which I had entertained at the commencement of my embassy, of distinguishing it by some happy

discovery, some signal and brilliant success, in the prosecution of our political and commercial interests in these distant parts of the world. I have given up my projected visit to Japan which (though now less alluring in prospect) had been always with me a favorite adventure, as the possible opening of a new mine for the exercise of our industry, and the purchase of our manufactures. All these ideas I have resigned at present, and adopted the measures which appear to afford the most probable substantial advantages to the public. It is therefore determined that the Bombay Castle, the Brunswick, the Minerva, the Chesterfield, and the Bellona shall proceed immediately for England; the two first are strong, well armed and well manned ships, and Captain Montgomery of the Bombay Castle, a man of known spirit, skill, and experience, being the senior officer, is to command this little fleet, and to conduct it in the manner which he judges most essential to its security. The other ships (probably thirteen) will proceed, when ready, under the convoy of his Majesty's ship the Lion. Thus by the speedy departure of the five ships, not only their demurrage will be saved; but if they arrive safe, the Court of Directors will be the earlier enabled to judge of their China resources. By the Lion's conveying the remainder, an immense property will be secured from danger in these seas and, I trust, reach England in safety.

Tuesday, December 24th. Our interpreter came and mentioned to me the different persons, who expected to receive presents from the embassy. I have desired Mr. Barrow

to select and deliver them, and to put whatever remains unexpended into the hands of Mr. Browne, according to the Company's instructions, and to take a receipt for the same.

Wednesday, December 25th. This day being Christmas-day we all went over and dined with the British factory. The Captains of the Bombay Castle, the Brunswick, the Minerva, the Chesterfield, and the Bellona, took leave of me. My dispatches for England are sent on board the Bombay Castle, the duplicates on the Brunswick.

Thursday, December 26th.—Friday, December 27th.—Saturday, December 28th. I have had some conversation with the principal Hong merchants of this place. *Pan-ke-quā* is one of the principal, a shrewd, sensible, sly fellow. *Chi-chin-quā* is the next in point of consequence, but not inferior in point of opulence. The latter is a younger man, and of a franker character. To me he affected much regard for the English nation, and declared, without reserve, his willingness to try experiments in trade with any new articles that our factory might desire. Mr. Irwin and Mr. Jackson were present when he said this to me.

Pan-ke-quā wears a white opaque button on his cap, and *Chi-chin-quā* wears a crystal one, which is a degree superior to *Pan-ke-quā*'s; but I soon learned the reason. *Pan-ke-quā* is more prudent and less ostentatious.

Chi-chin-quā owned to me, that he had also a blue button. but that, though he always wears it at home in his own fa-

mily, he never appears with it abroad, lest the Mandarines in office should visit him on that account, and make use of it as a pretence to squeeze presents from him, naturally supposing that a man could very well afford them, who had given ten thousand taels for such a distinction. These different ranks of buttons are sold here to the wealthy merchants, but confer no official authority. When I say sold, I do not mean that the government sells them, but the suitor certainly buys them by the large presents which he makes to the great men at this extremity of the empire, who have interest enough at court to procure them.

I mentioned to these Hong merchants several things, which, from what I had observed, were well adapted, in my opinion, to the northern parts of the empire, and would, I believe, be acceptable articles at Peking, but they seemed to know as little of Peking as of Westminster. Not one of those, whom I conversed with, had ever been in the capital. They scarcely ever stir from the place of their nativity, unless compelled by authority, or incited by the strangest motives of interest; but grovel on at Canton from generation to generation, very unlike the Chinese whom I have had occasion to see in other places. These merchants have no trade beyond Nankin; Nankin is the great commercial metropolis; to Nankin they send most of their Europe goods. From Nankin they receive a considerable part of the goods intended for Europe, so that the Nankin merchants are, in fact, the real masters of the Chinese market; a circumstance which renders our admission to trade directly to *Cheu-san* and *Ning-po* doubly desirable, and it is not to be despaired of. *We once had it.*

Sunday, December 29th. Sir Erasmus Gower had brought the Lion up to *Wam-po*, and from thence came here himself last night. He returned again this day, and I went down with him in his barge, and took *Van-ta-gin* along with us. It is about eleven miles from Canton, and we were three hours in the passage; but it is often made in less than two. I observed lying there nine company's ships; three country ships; one English Ostend ship, called the city of Genoa, under Genoese colors, and commanded by a Captain Snyders, an Englishman, and three or four Americans, the largest of which latter did not exceed six hundred tons: They are called by the Chinese second-chop Englishmen: the teas, which are the principal articles they take, are of a very inferior kind, and are chiefly paid for in dollars.

The river of Canton is quite covered with boats and vessels of various sorts and sizes; all, even the very smallest, constantly and thickly inhabited.

The country is pleasant, flat near the water, but rising into mountains at ten or twelve miles distance. On the left is the village of *Wam-po*, where the banksals (temporary huts built for the accommodation of our people, and the reception of their stores) are situated. On the right, a little farther down, are two islands, commonly called French Island and Danish Island, which I particularly showed to *Van-ta-gin*, (whom I had brought with me for this purpose) and explained to him our wishes to have leave to build accommodations for our people upon them. He said he would report to the viceroy that there could not be any objection.

We returned here (to *Canton*) in the evening.

Monday, December 30th.—Tuesday, December 31st. The accounts which we had heard of the commotions in *Cochin-China* have been now confirmed to us by good authority. We are informed that the king of Donai (the southern region) had attacked the king of Tonquin or Nangan, as the Chinese call the reigning prince, in the neighborhood of Turon bay, which we had visited ; that the town of Faifo had been taken and plundered ; that the king of Nangan himself had fled to the northward ; and that the whole country was in the utmost confusion. As it is probable that these troubles will not be speedily composed, perhaps if a settlement in *Cochin-China* be thought advisable, a more favorable season may not offer.

It is a measure that with proper precaution may, I believe, be accomplished. There is a most happy spot, a perfect Gibraltar on the east point of Turon Bay, marked out by nature for the purpose.

A battalion of sepoys and a company of European artillery would be fully sufficient to defend it against any force that is ever likely to be mustered for attacking it.

Wednesday, January 1st, 1794. This morning the viceroy visited me in great ceremony, and said he had received a letter from the emperor, the contents of which he was ordered to communicate to me. It contained, as usual, a repetition of the emperor's satisfaction from the embassy, his good dis-

position towards the English, and promises to them of his future favor and protection. These seem to be expressed in stronger terms than the former, and the viceroy himself was particularly courteous and caressing. He told me he had already issued two proclamations, denouncing the severest punishments against any persons who should attempt to injure Europeans, or practise extortion in dealing with them. These proclamations are published, and it is hoped will have a good effect.

This day being New Year's day, we all went over and dined with our factory.

Thursday, January 2d.—Friday, January 3d.—Saturday, January, 4th.—Sunday, January, 5th.—Monday, January 6th.—Tuesday, January 7th. As none of the gentlemen of our factory had ever been within the city of Canton, except the commissioners when they went to deliver the chairman's letter, announcing my intended embassy, I had a strong curiosity to see it. I entered it at the great water gate, and traversed it from one end to the other. It covers a great extent of ground and is said to contain a million of inhabitants. This account may possibly exaggerate, but the population every where in China is so vastly disproportionate to what we have been accustomed to observe in Europe, that it is difficult for us to determine upon any rule or standard of our own to go by; I can therefore only repeat upon this point what I have learned from the best informed of the natives. The streets are narrow and paved with flag-stones, much in the same manner as those of *Han-chou-fou*. No wheel car-

riages are admitted, nor did I see any horses in the town, except those which my servants rode upon. It is full of shops and trades, and has, in general, a gloomy appearance, except in two or three large open squares, where the viceroy and other great men reside.

All the people seemed very busily employed, chiefly in making either silk boots, or straw bonnets, in the working of metals, and the labors of the forge; and most of them wore spectacles on their noses. The walls are kept in good repair, but no guns are mounted on them. The ordinary troops here, instead of a blue uniform and red lace as elsewhere, are clothed in red with a blue lace. I am informed, that several persons have been punished for petty extortions practised against some strangers here, notwithstanding the late proclamations; but there are many other things that depend a good deal on ourselves, which, I believe, would be more likely to secure us than proclamations and punishments. We, no doubt, labor under many disadvantages here at present; but some of them we have it in our own power to remove. Instead of acting towards the Chinese at Canton in the same manner that we do towards the natives at our factories elsewhere, we seem to have adopted a totally opposite system. We keep aloof from them as much as possible; we wear a dress as different from their's as can be fashioned; we are quite ignorant of their language (which, I suppose, cannot be a very difficult one; for little George Staunton has long since learned to speak it and write it with great readiness, and from that circumstance has been of infinite use to us on many occasions); we therefore almost entirely depend on the good

faith and good nature of the few Chinese whom we employ, and by whom we can be but imperfectly understood in the broken gibberish we talk to them. I fancy that *Pan-ke-qu* or Mahomet Souleim would attempt doing business on the royal exchange to very little purpose, if they appeared there in long petticoat clothes, with bonnets and turbans, and could speak nothing but Chinese or Arabic. Now I am very much mistaken if, by a proper management, we might not gradually, and, in some few years, be able to mould the China trade (as we seem to have done the trade every where else) to the shape that will best suit us; but it would certainly require in us great skill, caution, temper, and perseverance, much greater perhaps than it is reasonable to expect. I dare say there are many hasty spirits disposed to go a shorter way to work; but no shorter way will do it. If indeed the Chinese were provoked to interdict us their commerce, or do us any material injury, we certainly have the means easy enough of revenging ourselves; for a few frigates could, in a few weeks, destroy all their coast navigation and intercourse from the island of *Hai-nan* to the Gulph of *Pecheli*; and, if I were to indulge the speculations of an ambitious or vindictive politician, I doubt not but we might vulnerate them as sensibly in many other quarters. We might probably be able from Bengal to excite the most serious disturbances on their Thibet frontier, by means of their neighbors there, who appear to require only a little encouragement and assistance to begin. The Coreans, if they once saw ships in the Yellow Sea acting as enemies to China, might be induced to attempt the recovery of their independence. The thread of connexion between this empire and For-

mosa is so slender, that it must soon break of itself; but a breath of foreign interference would instantly snap it asunder.

The Portuguese who, as a nation, have been long really exanimated and dead in this part of the world, although their ghost still appears at Macao, hold that place upon such terms as render it equally useless and disgraceful to them. It is now chiefly supported by the English, and on the present footing of things there, the Chinese can starve both it and those who support it, whenever they please. If the Portuguese made a difficulty of parting with it to us on fair terms, it might easily be taken from them by a small force from Madras, and the compensation and irregularity be settled afterwards; or with as little trouble, and with more advantage, we might make a settlement in Lantao or *Cow-hee*, and then Macao would of itself crumble to nothing in a short time. The forts of the Bocca Tigris might be demolished by half a dozen broadsides; the river would be impassable without our permission, and the whole trade of Canton and its correspondencies annihilated in a season. The millions of people who subsist by it would be almost instantly reduced to hunger and insurrection; they must overrun the country as beggars or as robbers, and wherever they went would carry with them misery and rebellion. In such distraction would Russia remain inactive? Would she neglect the opportunity of recovering Albazin and re-establishing her power upon the Amour? Would the ambition of the great Catharine, that has stretched beyond Onalaska to the eastward, overlook the provinces and partitions within grasp at her door?

Such might be the consequences to this empire, if we had a serious quarrel with it. On the other hand, let us see what might be the consequence to ourselves. It is possible that other nations, now trading or expecting to trade with China, would not behold our success with indifference, and thus we might be involved with much more formidable enemies than Chinese; but I leave that consideration aside and proceed to others.

Our settlements in India would suffer most severely by any interruption of their China traffic, which is infinitely valuable to them, whether considered singly as a market for cotton and opium, or as connected with their adventures to the Philippines and Malays.

To Great Britain the blow would be immediate and heavy. Our great woollen manufacture, the antient staple of England, would feel such a sudden convulsion, as scarcely any vigilance and vigor in government could for a long time remedy or alleviate. The demand from Canton for our woollens alone cannot now be less than 500,000*l.* to 600,000*l.* per annum, and there is good reason to believe that, with proper care, in some years, it may be stretched to a million. We should lose the other growing branches of export to China of tin, lead, copper, hardware, and of clocks and watches, and similar articles of ingenious mechanism. We should lose the import from China, not only of its raw silk, an indispensable ingredient in *our* silk fabricks, but of another indispensable luxury or rather an absolute necessary of life, *tea*. We should also in some measure lose an excellent school of

nautical knowledge, a strong limb of marine power, and a prolific source of public revenue.

These evils, it would seem, must infallibly follow from a breach with China; whether in time other markets might not be found or created to make us amends, I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with this part of the world (and still less with the disposition of the court of Spain) to hazard a decision; but it is not impossible that, though prodigious inconveniencies and mischiefs would certainly be felt at the moment from a rupture, means might be discovered to reverse or repair them. But all these inconveniencies and mischiefs, which I have stated as objects of apprehension, may happen in the common course of things without any quarrel or interference on our part. The empire of China is an old crazy first-rate man of war, which a fortunate succession of able and vigilant officers has contrived to keep afloat for these hundred and fifty years past; and to overawe their neighbors, merely by her bulk and appearance; but whenever an insufficient man happens to have the command upon deck, adieu to the discipline and safety of the ship. She may perhaps not sink outright; she may drift some time as a wreck, and will then be dashed in pieces on the shore; but she can never be rebuilt on the old bottom.

The breaking up of the power of China (no very improbable event) would occasion a complete subversion of the commerce, not only of Asia, but a very sensible change in the other quarters of the world. The industry and ingenuity of

the Chinese would be checked and enfeebled ; but they would be not be annihilated : her ports could no longer be barricaded ; they would be attempted by all the adventurers of all trading nations, who would search every channel, creek, and cranny of China for a market, and for some time be the cause of much rivalry and disorder. Nevertheless, as Great Britain, from the weight of her riches, and the genius and spirit of her people, is become the first political, marine and commercial power on the globe, it is reasonable to think that she would prove the greatest gainer by such a revolution as I have alluded to, and rise superior over every competitor.

But to take things solely as they now are, and to bound our view by the visible horizon of our situation, without speculating upon *probable* events (which seldom take place according to our speculation), our present interests, our reason, and our humanity equally forbid the thought of any offensive measures, with regard to the Chinese, whilst a ray of hope remains for succeeding by gentle ones. Nothing could be urged in favour of an hostile conduct, but an irresistible conviction of failure by forbearance.

The project of a territory on the continent of China (which I have heard imputed to the late Lord Clive) is too wild to be seriously mentioned, and especially if all can be quietly got without it that was expected to be got with it. By my embassy the Chinese have had, what they never had before, an opportunity of knowing us, and this must lead them to a proper way of thinking of us and of acting

towards us in future. If, when the dispute happened in the year 1759, a royal ambassador had been sent to the court of Peking, I am inclined to think that the affair would have taken a very different turn; they would certainly have received the embassy with respect, possibly indeed with less honors and distinctions than mine, on account of the difference between compliment and complaint; and though they might then have granted no favors, yet the caution of the government would, at least, have guarded them from doing injustice.

On the footing that Mr. Flint was sent, what could have been expected? A private individual commissioned by a few other individuals trading at Canton, whom the Chinese had not yet learned to respect as they ought, was dispatched, without a passport, in a small vessel to *Tien-sing*, (an irregular proceeding in itself, and in the teeth of a particular law) to accuse the regency of Canton, then consisting of persons appointed and supported by those who were to judge them.

At present, after reflecting upon all the incidents of the embassy, the complexion of the court of Peking, and the footing of our factory at Canton, I cannot but be of opinion that nothing is more likely to contribute essentially to the promotion of our interests than having a king's minister, or a company's minister with a king's commission, always resident at Canton, totally unconcerned with trade of any kind, and clearly known to be so. The first object is to preserve the ground we have lately gained. It is no small ad-

vantage arising from the embassy that so many Englishmen have been seen at Peking, from whose brilliant appearance and prudent demeanor a most favorable idea has been formed of the country which had sent them. Nor is it any strain of vanity to say that the principal persons of rank, who, from their intercourse with us, had opportunities of observing our manners, tempers, and discipline, very soon dismissed the prejudices they had conceived against us, and by a generous transition grew to admire and respect us as a nation, and to love us as individuals; gained by our attentions, we found them capable of attachment; though in public ceremonious, in private they were frank and familiar: tired of official formalities they seemed often to fly to our society as a relief and to leave it with regret. Dispositions like these, an able minister would not fail to improve; by his intercourse with the viceroy, the *Foyen*, and the *Hou-pou*, he would be able to excuse irregularities, and clear up mistakes; he would discover the proper seasons for advancing or receding, when to be silent with dignity, and when to speak with confidence and effect; but above all the king's commission would authorize him to write to and entitle him to be heard by the court of Peking itself, a circumstance probably alone sufficient to awe the regency of Canton, and keep them within the bounds of justice and moderation. These opinions I have formed, and these conclusions I have drawn, from what experience I have had of this country, from what observations I made upon the characters of the people that were within my reach to converse with, and the emperor's letter to the viceroy.

I am aware that a measure of this kind may seem to interfere with the company's servants at Canton ; but it ought to have no such operation ; it should neither lessen their emoluments, nor their consequence, but have a contrary effect. I believe that nothing has contributed more to render our merchants at Lisbon and St. Petersburg respectable and important, than the residence of his majesty's ministers at these ports, to maintain our commercial rights, and to protect them from wrong. The Chinese, it is true, are a singular people, but they are *men* formed of the same material, and governed by the same passions as ourselves ; they are jealous of foreigners ; but are they jealous of *us* without reason ? Is there any country on the globe that Englishmen visit, where they do not display that pride of themselves, and that contempt of others, which conscious superiority is apt to inspire ? Can the Chinese, one of the vainest nations in the world, and not the least acute, have been blind and insensible to this foible of our's ? And is it not natural for them to be discomposed and disgusted by it ? But a better knowledge of the better parts of our character will calm their disquiets, weaken their prejudices, and wear away their ill impressions. Every day we shall have fewer enemies and rivals to injure us in their opinion. The French, who had long flourished here, have given up the trade and disappeared and other nations also must either soon abandon it, or be content to carry it on, as the Dutch and Americans do, with little credit and little advantage.

Having now no particular business to detain the embassy longer at Canton, and unwilling to trespass further on the

hospitality of the court of China, at whose expense we have been entertained ever since we landed in the empire (they not permitting us to maintain ourselves, though often pressed by me, and intreated to let us do so) I told the viceroy of my intention of going to Macao, and of waiting there till our ships should be ready to sail for England under the Lion's convoy; and to prevent his taking umbrage, or imagining that I was not perfectly pleased with my reception and residence here at Canton (which have certainly been as honorable and agreeable to me as possible), I put my removal chiefly upon the state of my health, which has been much impaired, and which it is thought the sea air would be favorable to. I fixed with him the time of my departure for to-morrow, and as I proposed to embark from the wharf of the factory, I invited him to breakfast with me there, in order that I might have the opportunity (which he had before promised to me) of introducing and recommending the Company's commissioners to him, to the *Fo-yen* and to the *Hou-pou* in the most public and the most distinguished manner. He was particularly inquisitive about the nature of these gentlemen's office and their rank; I endeavored to explain the matter to him, as well as I could; but there is no making the Chinese understand the wide difference there is between an English merchant and a merchant of any other nation.

Wednesday, January 8th. This day at ten o'clock A. M. we set out from our quarters, and crossed over the river to the English factory, where I was met by the viceroy, the *Fo-yen*, the *Hou-pou*, and the other principal Mandarines. I pre-

sented the commissioners, to whom they gave a very gracious reception, with liberal promises of access and attention. This ceremony being finished, we all set down together to the collation prepared for us, which our Chinese friends did ample justice to, some of them seeming to relish much the good things set before them, and nothing more than our sweet wine and cherry-brandy.

At one o'clock, P. M. Sir George Staunton, Sir Erasmus Gower, Lieutenant-colonel Benson, and I took our leave of them, and embarked on the Lion's barge; the other gentlemen went in the pinnaces and boats of the Indiamen, which their Captains had obligingly brought up from *Wam-pi* for this occasion, with pendants flying, and the crews all dressed in uniform, so that our procession down the river was very numerous and splendid. *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, together with the *Song-pin* of *Chao-chou-fou*, a man of high quality, with a red button and peacock's feather on his cap, and of a sociable pleasant humor, accompanied us in a state yacht, and dined with us on board the Lion. And here our friends *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* took leave of us. They shed tears at parting, and showed such marks of sensibility and concern, as could proceed from none but sincere and uncorrupted hearts. If I ever could forget the friendship and attachment of these two worthy men, or the services they rendered us, I should be guilty of the deepest ingratitude.

Thursday, January 9th. Received this morning a most liberal present of fruit and vegetables of all kinds, in twenty large baskets, sent us by *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin* as a

farewel token of their remembrance. Their respective duties and employments now call them away to very distant provinces, and they are not likely to see any of us again. Of this little attention I therefore confess myself the more sensible : but I consider it in two ways, as equally intended to be a mark of their public consideration for us, attaching to their characters as men of high station in this country, and of particular regard to us as their private friends of another.

Chou-ta-gin is a man of letters and capacity. He stands high in the opinion of the viceroy, whose universal reputation, joined to his connexion with the imperial family, will probably elevate him one day to the first situation at court. I have more than once talked with *Chou-ta-gin* on the subject of office and preferment, and from his prospects of advantage being enlarged by what he has seen here ; his pretensions heightened by his connexion with us, and his ambition dilated by the patronage of the viceroy, I think it not at all improbable that he may be soon sent here in a high employment. The place of *Hou-pou*, which is usually of three years' duration, seems to be the object of his present views. **Honora mutant mores*, and it is possible that promotion might have the same effect upon him, as upon his predecessors, but as he is of an age, before which a man's principles have usually been settled, and his character decided, I have reason to believe that, if he ever obtains the appointment, we shall receive the most essential advantages by it, but from the very circumstance of his connexion with

us, our address to him and management of him would require the more care and dexterity.

The commissioners Messieurs Browne and Jackson, and Mr. Hall the secretary, came and dined with us on board the *Lion*. We expected Mr. Irwin; but his illness deprived us of the pleasure of his company.

Friday, January 10th. We fell down the river below the first bar, and anchored for the night.

Saturday, January 11th. We set sail this morning, with hopes of being able to get below the second bar; but the wind heading us, we were under the necessity of coming to an anchor.

Sunday, January 12th. This day we passed the second bar, and then came to an anchor for the night.

Monday, January 13th. At eight o'clock A. M. we made sail, and in about a couple of hours passed the two forts which have been erected by the Chinese to guard the mouth of the *Pi-kiang-ho*, as they call it, or the *Bocca Tigris*, as it is usually stiled by the Europeans from the Portuguese denomination. The lesser fort is built on a small island to the west, the principal one is on the main land, with a steep hill rising close behind it. Both of them very despicable in our eyes, when viewed in the light of defence. There are a great many

embrasures ; but several are unfurnished with guns, and of the few guns which they have, the largest does not exceed a six pounder. The passage between the two forts is less than a mile across, and any ship might go through it, almost harmless, with the wind and the tide in her favor. As we sailed by, the Chinese made a prodigious military parade, manned the walls with a numerous garrison, and extended an encampment 'of five hundred or six hundred men all along the eastern beach, with their standards, colors, streamers, music, and other appurtenances of war. There were several armed junks lying in the road, crowded with soldiers, who took great pains to show themselves on the deck ; but did not salute us as the forts did, having nothing but swivels mounted on their quarters, though they had several shamports below. The largest of them did not appear to exceed two hundred and fifty tons. It is said, that there is another passage behind the eastern fort of Anunchoi, leading into the country to the north-east above Canton. by which the largest ships may run up within a short distance of that city ; but the Chinese keep it a secret from Europeans as much as possible, and endeavor to prevent any thing larger than a boat from navigating it.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock, we came to an anchor in five fathoms water in Macao roads, the town bearing west about six miles distant. Lieutenant-colonel Benson and Lieutenant Campbell went ashore in the pinnace. From the deck we see the Jackall, the Clarence, and a large Portuguese ship all at anchor in the mouth of the Typa.

Tuesday, January 14th. It blew very⁴ hard all this day till four o'clock P. M. when (the weather moderating a little) the governor's boat ventured out with his aid-de-camp on board, who came with the governor's compliments, and an offer of his best services.

Wednesday, January 15th. This day at ten o'clock A. M. I went on shore at Macao, with all the gentlemen of the embassy, and was received at landing by the governor Don Manuel Pinto and the disembargador Don Lazaro de Silva Ferreira, who is the principal civil officer of the place. A company of foot, mostly negroes and mulattos, but commanded by European officers, were drawn up in military order on the quay, and endeavored to make as good an appearance as they could; their undersize, motley complexion, and shabby regimentals impressed us, however, with no very high ideas in their favor.

We were very handsomely entertained at dinner by the governor, who is a well-bred reasonable man, of about forty years old, and has the rank of Lieutenant-colonel in the Portuguese service. His wife, a native of Goa, is of an agreeable figure, and did the honors of her house extremely well. The disembargador has parts, observation, and address, and speaks very good French.

Most of the gentlemen of the embassy are lodged at the English factory. My quarters are at a house in the upper part of the town rented by Mr. Drummond, who has been se

good as to lend it to me during his absence. It is most delightfully situated, and has a very pleasant romantic garden adjoining to it of considerable extent. The tradition of Macao says it was formerly the habitation of the celebrated Camoens, and that here he composed his *Lusiad*.

At this place we propose to stay till our homeward-bound ships, now thirteen in all, are ready to sail (which it is calculated will be in less than six weeks) and then proceed on the *Lion*, as their convoy, to England.

I now close my *China Journal*, in which I have written down the transactions and occurrences of my embassy, and my travels through this empire, exactly as they passed and as they struck me at the time. To these I have added, in the Appendix, a few papers relative to some particulars which I was desirous to be informed upon. They could not be inserted in their proper places, as it was frequently a long time after I had made my inquiries before I could obtain the answers, and when I did obtain them, I was obliged to follow them up with further inquiries for explanation.

Should any accident throw this journal under the eyes of a stranger unacquainted with me and the country I am now quitting, he might possibly imagine that I had, too much indulged myself in local description and political conjecture, but nothing could be more fallacious than to judge of China by any European standard. My sole view has been to represent things precisely as they impressed me. I had long accustomed myself to take minutes of whatever appeared of a

curious or interesting nature, and such scenes as I have lately visited were not likely to obliterate my habits or to relax my diligence. I regularly took notes and memorandums of the business I was engaged in and the objects I saw, partly to serve for my own use and recollection, and partly to amuse the hours of a tedious and painful employment, but I will not flatter myself that they can be of much advantage or entertainment to others.

END OF THE JOURNAL.

APPENDIX TO THE JOURNAL.

Manners and Character of the Chinese.

IF I venture to say any thing upon the Manners and Character of the Chinese, I must begin by confessing that I am very far from being a competent judge of them. Though assisted by an honest and able interpreter; though possessed of many advantages from the intercourse which my station afforded me with persons of the first rank and abilities, and from the extent of my travels through the country of China; yet I am sensible that it was impossible to avoid falling into frequent mistakes. From my not knowing the language; from sometimes misconceiving those who did; from misinterpreting looks and gestures, where our hands and our eyes were to perform the offices of our tongues and our ears, I may have formed wrong judgments, and have deceived myself; but as I do not mean that others should be deceived, I fairly own my disadvantages, and give previous notice of the nature of the information that may be expected from me. It will be chiefly the result of what I saw and heard upon the spot, however imperfectly, not of what I had read in books or been told in Europe.

It should never be absent from our recollection that there are now two distinct nations in China (though generally confounded together by Europeans) the Chinese and the Tartars, whose characters essentially differ, notwithstanding their external appearance be nearly the same, and whose minds must naturally be differently bent by the circumstances which respectively govern them. They are both subject to the most absolute authority that can be vested in a prince, but with this distinction, that to the Chinese it is a foreign tyranny; to the Tartars a domestic despotism. The latter consider themselves as, in some degree, partakers of their sovereign's dominion over the former, and that imagination may perhaps somewhat console them under the pressure of his power upon themselves; like the house servants and house negroes belonging to a great landlord in Livonia, or planter in Jamaica, who, though serfs themselves, look down upon the peasantry and field negroes of the estate as much their inferiors.

If opinions were solely to be formed of China and its inhabitants, from the accounts of the first travellers and even of later missionaries, they would often be inadequate and unjust: for those writers, although they probably did not mean to deal in fiction, yet when they do tell the truth, they do not always tell the whole truth, which is a mode of narration that leads to error almost as much as falsehood itself.

When Marco Polo, the Venetian, visited China in the thirteenth century, it was about the time of the conquest of

China by the western or Mongol Tartars, with *Kublai-khan*, a grandson of *Gengis-khan*, at their head. A little before that period the Chinese had reached their highest pitch of civilization; and no doubt they were then a very civilized people in comparison of their Tartar conquerors, and their European contemporaries; but not having improved and advanced forward, or having rather gone back, at least for these hundred and fifty years past, since the last conquest by the northern or Manchou Tartars, whilst we have been every day rising in arts and sciences, they are actually become a semi-barbarous people in comparison with the present nations of Europe. Hence it is that they retain the vanity, conceit, and pretensions that are usually the concomitants of half-knowledge; and that, though during their intercourse with the embassy, they perceived many of the advantages we had over them, they seemed rather surprised than mortified, and sometimes affected not to see what they could not avoid feeling. In their address to strangers they are not restrained by any bashfulness or *mauvaise honte*, but present themselves with an easy confident air, as if they considered themselves the superiors, and that nothing in their manners or appearance could be found defective or inaccurate.

Their ceremonies of demeanor, which consist of various evolutions of the body, in elevating and inclining the head, in bending or stiffening the knee, in joining their hands together and then disengaging them, with a hundred other manœuvres, they consider as the highest perfection of good breeding and deportment; and look upon most other nations, who are not expert in this polite discipline, as little better

than barbarians. Nevertheless having once shown off and exhausted all these tricks of behaviour, they are glad to relapse into ease and familiarity, and seem never so happy as when indulging in free conversation with those whom they do not distrust; for they are naturally lively, loquacious, and good-humored. They were certainly much surprised to find us so mild, sociable, and cheerful.

The court character is a singular mixture of ostentatious hospitality and inbred suspicion, ceremonious civility and real rudeness, shadowy complaisance and substantial perverseness; and this prevails through all the departments connected with the court, although somewhat modified by the personal disposition of those at their head; but as to that genuine politeness, which distinguishes our manners, it cannot be expected in Orientals, considering the light in which they regard the female world.

Among the Chinese themselves, society chiefly consists of certain stated forms and expressions, a calm, equal, cold deportment, studied, hypocritical attentions, and hyperbolical professions.

Where women are excluded from appearing, all delicacy of taste and sentiment, the softness of address, the graces of elegant converse, the play of the passions, the refinements of love and friendship, must of necessity be banished. In their place, gross familiarity, coarse pleasantry, and broad allusions are indulged in, but without that honesty and expansion of heart which we have sometimes observed to arise

on such occasions among ourselves. Morality is a mere pretence in their practice, though a common topic of their discourse. Science is an intruder, and gaming the resource. An attachment to this vice accompanies even the lowest Chinese wherever he goes. No change of country divests him of it. I have been assured that the Chinese settled in our new colony at the Prince of Wales' island, pay not less than ten thousand dollars *per annum* to the government for a licence to keep gaming-houses and sell opium.

Every Chinese who aspires to preferment attaches himself to some Tartar of consequence, and professes the utmost devotion to his service ; but such is the strong and radical dislike in the client to the patron, that scarcely any benefits can remove it and plant gratitude in its place. As the nature of dependence is to grow false, it cannot be wondered at if these Chinese are not strict observers of truth. They have indeed so little idea of its moral obligation, that they promise you every thing you desire, without the slightest intention of performance, and then violate their promises without scruple, having had no motive for making them that I could perceive, unless it were that they imagined what they said might be agreeable to you just at the moment. When detected or reproached they make light of the matter themselves, and appear neither surprised nor ashamed ; but nevertheless it was evident that they particularly remarked our punctuality and our strict attention to truth in all our transactions with them, and respected us accordingly.

Although the difference of ranks be perhaps more distinctly marked in China than in any other country, yet I often observed that the Mandarines treat their domestic servants with great condescension, and talk to them with good nature and familiarity; but in return an unremitting attention and obedience are expected and never withheld.

A Chinese family is regulated with the same regard to subordination and economy that is observed in the government of a state; the paternal authority, though unlimited, is usually exercised with kindness and indulgence. In China children are indeed sometimes sold, and infants exposed by the parents, but only in cases of the most hopeless indigence and misery, when they must inevitably perish if kept at home; but when the thread of attachment is not thus snapped asunder by the anguish of the parent, it every day grows stronger and becomes indissoluble for life.

There is nothing more striking in the Chinese character through all ranks than this most respectable union. Affection and duty walk hand in hand, and never desire a separation. The fondness of the father is constantly felt and always increasing; the dependence of the son is perfectly understood by him; he never wishes it to be lessened. It is not necessary to coax or to cheat the child into the cutting off an entail, or the charging his inheritance with a mortgage; it is not necessary to importune the father for an irrevocable settlement. According to Chinese ideas, there is but one interest in a family; any other supposition would be unna-

tural and wicked. An undutiful child is a monster that China does not produce; the son, even after marriage, continues for the most part to live in the father's house; the labor of the whole family is thrown into one common stock under the sole management of the parent; after whose death the eldest son often retains the same authority, and continues in the same union with his younger brothers.

The houses of the better sort exhibit a certain show of grandeur and magnificence, and even of taste and elegance in their decorations; but at the same time discover, at least to our eyes, evident marks of discomfort and inconvenience. There is a want of useful furniture. They have indeed lanterns of gauze and paper and horn and diaphanous gum, most beautifully colored and disposed; and they have tables, couches, and chairs, loosely covered with rich carpeting, with gold and silver damasks, and other silks; but they have no bureaux, commodes, lustres, or looking-glasses; they have no sheets to their beds, neither does their bedding itself seem well adapted or agreeable. They do not undress themselves entirely as we do, when they go to rest; but lay themselves down upon alroved benches, which are spread with a single mat or thin mattress, and adjusted with small pillows and cushions. Their apartments are not well contrived or distributed, according to our ideas of utility and propriety, having seldom any doors that shut with locks or proper fastenings; but in lieu of them screens and curtains, which are removed or drawn back as occasion requires. In the cold weather they are warmed by flues under the floor; for there are neither stoves, fire-places, nor fire-grates in the

rooms ; but sometimes brasiers filled with charcoal are brought in and occasionally renewed.

The people, even of the first rank, though so fond of dress as to change it usually several times in a day, are yet in their persons and customs frowzy and uncleanly. * Their outward garment of ceremony is richly embroidered with silks of different colors (those of the highest class of all with golden dragons), and their common habit is of plain silk, or fine broad cloth ; but their drawers and their waistcoats (of which they usually wear several according to the season) are not very frequently shifted. They wear neither knit nor woven stockings ; but wrap their legs round with a coarse cotton stuff, over which they have constantly drawn a pair of black satin boots without heels, but with soles nearly an inch in thickness. In summer every body carries a fan in his hand, and is flirting it incessantly.

They wear but little linen or calico, and what they do wear is extremely coarse and ill washed, the article of soap not being employed by them. They seldom have recourse to pocket handkerchiefs, but spit about the rooms without mercy, blow their noses in their fingers, and wipe them with their sleeves, or upon any thing near them. This practice is universal, and what is still more abominable, I one day observed a Tartar of distinction call his servant to hunt in his neck for a louse that was troublesome to him.

At their meals they use no towels, napkins, table-cloths, flat plates, glasses, knives nor forks ; but help themselves

with their fingers, or with their chop-sticks, which are made of wood or ivory, about six inches long, round, and smooth, and not kept very cleanly. Their meat is served up ready cut in small bowls, each guest having a separate bowl to himself. Seldom more than two sit together at the same table, and never above four. They are all foul feeders, and eaters of garlick and strong-scented vegetables, and drink mutually out of the same cup which, though sometimes rinsed, is never washed or wiped clean. They make use of little vinegar, no olive oil, cyder, ale, beer, or grape wine; their chief drink is tea, or liquors distilled or prepared from rice and other vegetables, of different degrees of strength according to their taste, some of which are tolerably agreeable and resemble strong Madeira.

They almost all smoke tobacco and consider it as a compliment to offer each other a whiff of their pipes. They also take snuff, preferring that of Brazil when they can get it, but in small quantities, not in that beastly profusion which is often practised in England, even by some of our fine ladies.

They have no water-closets nor proper places of retirement; the necessaries are, in general, quite public and open; and the ordure is continually removing from them, which occasions a stench in almost every place one approaches.

They have no wheel-carriages for travelling built on a better construction than that of a higler's cart; the best of the kind are set upon four clumsy wheels, and drawn by

five horses or mules, two abreast in the shafts, and three leaders abreast before them. They are without springs, and consequently very uneasy. The saddles, bridles, and accoutrements of their horses are inelegant and ill-contrived, much heavier than is requisite, and equally inconvenient to the beast and his rider. Although so much prejudiced in favor of their own customs and fashions, they could not, after some time, withstand the superiority of ours in a variety of instances. The lightness, neatness, and commodiousness of my post-chaise, in which I travelled to Gehol, they were quite delighted with; but the fearlessness and celerity and safety with which my postilions drove it along almost petrified them with astonishment. The elegance and finishing of our saddles and other parts of horse-furniture, particularly struck the Tartars, some of whom I should think are not unlikely to adopt them by degrees.

Our knives, forks, spoons, and a thousand little trifles of personal conveniency were singularly acceptable to every body, and will probably become soon of considerable demand, although the government is certainly averse to all novelties, and wishes to discountenance a taste for any foreign article that is not absolutely necessary; but luxury is stronger than law, and it is the prerogative of wealth to draw from abroad what it cannot find at home. One great advantage indeed of the embassy is the opportunity it afforded of showing the Chinese to what a high degree of perfection the English nation had carried all the arts and accomplishments of civilized life; that their manners were calculated for the improvement of social intercourse and liberal commerce;

that though great and powerful they were generous and humane, not fierce and impetuous like the Russians, but entitled to the respect and preference of the Chinese above the other European nations, of whom they have any knowledge. This favorable impression of the English character may be confirmed and improved in them by a continuance of our own attention and cautious conduct. The restriction and discipline of our seamen at Canton are among the proper regulations for this purpose, not to mention some other arrangements that will naturally be made there, in consequence of the ground we now stand upon.

The common people of China are a strong hardy race, patient, industrious, and much given to traffic and all the arts of gain; cheerful and loquacious under the severest labor, and by no means that sedate, tranquil people they have been represented. In their joint efforts and exertions they work with incessant vociferation, often angrily scold one another, and seem ready to proceed to blows, but scarcely ever come to that extremity. The inevitable severity of the law probably restrains them: for the loss of a life is always punished by the death of the offender, even though he acted merely in self-defence, and without any malice aforethought.

Superstitious and suspicious in their temper they at first appeared shy and apprehensive of us, being full of prejudices against strangers, of whose cunning and ferocity a thousand ridiculous tales had been propagated and, perhaps, industriously encouraged by the government, whose political

system seems to be, to endeavor to persuade the people that they are already perfect, and can therefore learn nothing from others; but it is to little purpose: a nation that does not advance must retrograde, and finally fall back to barbarism and misery.

A Chinese boy, who was appointed to wait upon young George Staunton, would not, for a long time, trust himself to sleep in the house with our European servants, being afraid, he said, that they would eat him. The Chinese however, at all the sea-ports where we touched, were quite free from these foolish notions; and, I flatter myself, that the embassy will have effectually removed them in all the provinces through which it passed.

The lower sort most heartily detest the Mandarin and persons in authority, whose arbitrary power of punishing, oppressing, and insulting them they fear; whose injustice they feel; and whose rapacity they must feed. The Mandarines themselves are equally at the mercy of their superiors, the ministers and eunuchs of the court, and are punishable by confiscation, and even by death, not only for their own offences, but for what others may do amiss within the jurisdiction of their department. They are responsible for whatever happens in the place where their authority extends; accident is construed into intention, and unavoidable error into wilful neglect. But this is not all, for the penalty is often inflicted on the offender's whole family, as well as on the offender himself. The ministers and eunuchs too are liable to any indignity which the caprice of the emperor may chance to dictate.

The bamboo is one of the grand instruments of discipline, from which no rank nor elevation is exempt, or secure. The emperor's nearest relations, even his own sons, are subject to it; and there are two of them now living upon whom it is well known to have been inflicted: but this is an argument of obedience which will probably one day refute itself.

Although the emperor, as the father of his people, affects and professes impartiality, and wishes to have it understood that he makes no distinction between Tartars and Chinese, neither Tartars nor Chinese are imposed upon by the pretence. The care taken to preserve the Mautchoo language among all the Tartars settled in China forms one unequivocal line of demarcation, exclusive of the others which I have occasionally taken notice of in these sheets. After a short residence in the country, I found no difficulty in distinguishing a Tartar from a Chinese, although their mode of dress and forms of behavior are precisely the same; but there was always something (I know not well how to describe it, *quod sentio tantum*) that indicated the difference in a moment.

In any attempt at a general sketch of the manners and character of a nation, candor and experience will naturally suggest a number of exceptions, and Christian charity will make large allowances. The composition of mankind, in all countries, is a mixture of the same materials, though blended in different proportions; but there is usually one particular essential ingredient that pervades and leavens the whole mass,

as from a predominating feature results the general cast of the countenance. If therefore the majority of the people, whom I have been describing, should be less perfect than might be wished, it is not very difficult to conjecture the cause. The Tartars perhaps imagine that their own selfish government derives a good deal of its vigor even from the unwholesome state of the juices in the body of the nation; and as a healthy constitution might be the consequence of a proper fermentation of them, the interested physician, who wishes to keep the patient as long as possible under his hands, will be in no haste to cure a disease whose duration he thinks may be long protracted without becoming fatal. The fault therefore is less in the people than in those who have the care of them.

If among others, with whom we were conversant, we met with a few superior characters, their merit is entirely their own; and to themselves, not to education or example, they chiefly owe those virtues and good qualities by which we distinguished them; for notwithstanding the high-flown eulogiums to be found in books of Chinese morality, it is in general of a very flimsy texture and little understood: the tincture is more relished than the essence; the frame is more admired than the picture; the parade of duty almost stifles the duty itself.

It so happened that of our four principal connections, the colao *Sun-ta-gin*, the viceroy *Chan-ta-gin*, and our constant companions *Fan-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, two were Tartars

and two Chinese; and although their respective nationalities could not escape us, yet they seemed perfectly united in their friendly and honorable conduct towards us, and made us therefore the more regret our ill fortune in having known so few others that resembled them.

As my knowledge of the female world in China was very limited, I have little to say upon the subject; but it may not be improper to say that little.

The women of the lower sort are much weather-beaten, and by no means handsome. Beauty is soon withered by early and frequent parturition, by hard labor and scanty fare. They have however a smart air, which arises partly from their manner of tying up their hair on the crown of their heads, and interspersing it with flowers and other ornaments. In the neighborhood of Peking I met some ladies of the higher ranks in their carriages, who appeared to have fair complexions and delicate features. They were all painted, as indeed are many of the inferior classes.

There is no law to prohibit intermarriages between the Tartars and the Chinese, but they very seldom intermarry. The Mantchoo and Mongol Tartars chiefly marry together, and scarcely ever with any of the other Tartar tribes. The Mantchoos often give large portions with their daughters; the reverse is the case among the Chinese, where the parent usually receives a consideration or handsome present from his son-in-law.

The Tartar ladies have hitherto kept their legs at liberty, and have not submitted to the Chinese operation of crippling the feet, though, it is said, that many of their husbands were desirous of introducing it into their families. I made many inquiries relative to this strange practice, but with little satisfaction. *Chou-ta-gin* admitted that no very good reason could be given for it. Its being an ancient custom was the best he could assign, and he confessed that a religious adherence to ancient customs, without much investigation of their origin, was a principal feature in the Chinese character. He added however that it possibly might have taken its rise from oriental jealousy, which had always been ingenious in its contrivances for securing the ladies to their owners; and that certainly a good way of keeping them at home was to make it very troublesome and painful to them to gad abroad. The rendering useless and deformed one part of the human body that is connate with the rest is little less strange than the practice of totally cutting off another; and yet we express no disgust nor surprize at the operation of circumcision, which prevails among a large proportion of mankind; and the Italian opera has long reconciled us to the indecency of castration.

It is inconceivable from whence arises the dissatisfaction at our natural form, that seems to be felt by the whole human species, from the politest nations of Europe to the most barbarous islanders of the South Seas. Boring the ears, painting the face, and dusting and plaistering the hair with powder and grease, are equally fashionable in London and Otaheite; but this perverseness and disfiguration are not confined to

ourselves, but extended by us to the inferior creation. A noble lord of my acquaintance in Ireland contrived to put out all the eyes of Argus, and extinguish the brilliant plumage of his peacocks, and to propagate in their stead a breed of whites, greys and cream colors. The good wives of Dorking have added a supernumerary claw to all the chickens of their hatching; and our jockeys, by their docks and crops, their fan-tails, short tails, and no tails at all, make their horses as little like what God made them as can possibly be imagined. We find beauty in defects, and we create defects where we do not find them.

I by no means wish to apologise for the Chinese custom of squeezing their women's pettoes into the shoes of an infant, which, I think, an infernal distortion; yet so much are people subject to be warped and blinded by fashion, that every Chinese above the vulgar considers it as a sensible accomplishment not to be dispensed with. Nay, a reverend apostolic missionary at Peking assured me that, in love affairs, the glimpse of a little fairy foot was to a Chinese a most powerful provocative. Perhaps, after all, we are not quite free from a little folly of the same kind ourselves. We have not yet indeed pushed it to the extreme which the Chinese have done, yet are we such admirers of it that, what with tight shoes, high heels, and ponderous buckles, if our ladies' feet are not crippled, they are certainly very much contracted, and it is impossible to say where the abridgment will stop. It is not a great many years ago that in England thread-paper waists, steel stays, and tight lacing were in high fashion; and the ladies' shapes were so tapered down from

the bosom to the hips, that there was some danger of breaking off in the middle upon any exertion. No woman was thought worth having who measured above eighteen inches round at the girdle. At present a contrary mode prevails: Prior's comeliness of side is exploded, and protuberance is procured wherever it can be fitted. But the Chinese ladies, like other Asiatics, never alter the costume of their dress; and I suppose the gowns they now wear are much of the same cut as those of their ancestors before the flood; but though the habit is the same, they are perhaps a little more changeable and coquettish than their ancestors were in the choice and disposition of their ornaments.

The shift is of silk netting, the waistcoat and drawers are usually of silk, and trimmed or lined with furs in cold weather, over all they wear a long sattin robe made full and loose, which is gracefully gathered round the waist and confined with a sash. These different members of their apparel are usually each of a different color; and, in the selecting and contrasting of them, the taste and fancy of the wearer are usually displayed.

They adorn and set off their hair with ribbons and flowers, with bodkins, mock pearls, or real ones below a certain size; but wear neither powder nor pomatum, diamonds nor feathers. Many of the mysteries of an European toilet they have never heard of, though perfectly versed in all those of their own, to which they devote no small portion of their time. They have not yet been initiated in the secrets of captivation by false pretences and love swindling, or of eking out a skeleton figure by a cork rump, a muslin bosom and a buckram.

stoinachér; for though they reckon corpulence a beauty in a man, they think it a most palpable blemish in their own sex; they therefore pay particular attention to the slinness of their shape, and have the art of preserving it in all its ease and delicacy without effort or compression.

Though a Chinese has properly but one wife at the head of his family, the number of his concubines depends on his own opulence and discretion. So far, in this point, Chinese and European manners seem pretty much alike; but they differ widely in another: the mistresses of a Chinese live in tolerable harmony together in the same house, and even under the authority of the wife, who adopts and educates their children; and these children inherit from the father equally with her own.

I have been the less reserved in what I have said upon this subject, because I was willing to convey an impartial idea of some things in China which, to our local vanity and prejudice, appear monstrous or incredible. Nor was I sorry to have this opportunity of remarking how little right we have to despise and ridicule other nations on the mere account of their differing from us in little points of manners and dress, as we can very nearly match them with similar follies and absurdities of our own.

Religion.

THE project of an alliance between church and state does not seem to have entered into the contemplation of the po-

liticians of China. Perhaps the pride of despotism disdained the support of religion, or the wisdom of government rendered the aid of superstition unnecessary. The Europeans, who first visited the country, were astonished to find a general toleration of religious worship and opinions prevail; and to observe Lamas and Bonzes, Persces, Jews and Mahometans living together in peace, and believing, as they pleased, without molestation; a state of society, as yet uncommon in Europe, and, at that time, little expected to be found in Asia. It is therefore not improbable that Christians would have enjoyed the same indulgence, had it not been for the rashness of their missionaries. The pious zeal of these good fathers outran their discretion; and they seemed desirous of anticipating the promised call of the Gentiles, without patiently waiting for the day of the Lord. The jealousy of the state was naturally alarmed, and measures were adopted to repress an innovation which, if not regulated, might soon become dangerous; but if it were found innocent, might be afterwards allowed: and now, notwithstanding the disturbances at different times, occasioned by their apostolic labors, and the persecutions, as they are fond of terming them, which have raged against the Christians in China, they are neither forbidden the profession nor restrained in the exercise of their religion at Pekin, where the steeples of Christian churches and the pinnacles of Pagan pagodas are to be seen rising in the same city. They enjoy a perfect personal toleration, and are capable of holding offices in the state. Nothing more is required of them than not to interrupt the public tranquillity by working at conversions, and fishing for proselytes. In these regulations they now apparently ac-

quiesce, and conduct themselves, I believe, with much more prudence and circumspection than their predecessors; but they never lose sight of their vocation: they are silently but unceasingly employed in raising recruits for the church, and adding to the number of the elect. Some few of their neophytes may perhaps be adult persons; but the greater part are foundlings, saved by them from perishing, or children purchased from indigent parents. To aid them in their pious labors, they send some of the most promising of these youths to be educated in the Chinese community at Naples, who, at their return, are usually commissioned into the distant provinces. Those of them, whom I had occasion to know the best, appeared to be persons of acute understandings, of gentle manners and sincere piety; zealous for the propagation of their faith, but possessing little energy or powers of persuasion.

Although it is affirmed that there are at present about one hundred and fifty thousand Christians in China, the number, at the same time, is confessed to be much smaller than it was a century or two ago; but I much question whether many of those, who were then called Christians, could fairly come under that description. The first evangelical adventurers there highly magnified their own merits, and the success of their labors. They indiscriminately honored with the name of Christian every person whom they baptized; and the outward and visible sign was rated as equivalent to an inward conviction; and this, I believe, has been pretty much the real history of most of the other

Oriental missions, which we read such exaggerated accounts of in the "*Lettres Edifiantes*," and other jesuitical publications. There appear to be indeed several unfavorable circumstances to the rapid growth of Christianity in China. It is attended with no worldly advantage to the professor, and a Chinese is more likely to be allured by an immediate though transitory benefit, than by a distant reversion, however valuable and lasting. The prohibition or restriction of sensual gratifications in a despotic country, where there are so few others, is difficult to be relished. Confession is repugnant to the close and suspicious character of the nation, and penance would but aggravate the misery of him, whose inheritance is his labor, and poverty his punishment. Against it also is the state of society in China, which excludes women from their proper share of influence and importance. A religion which requires that women should at stated times communicate to priests in private their thoughts and actions, must be particularly disgusting to a Chinese husband, who had not himself been suffered to see his wife till the day of his marriage, and who but seldom suffers her afterwards to see even her near relations of another sex. A religion like that of Mahomet can only be extended by violence and terror; for the natural stubbornness of men does not readily give way to novel impressions; but the mild spirit of the Gospel is most readily infused through the means of gentleness, persuasion, and imperceptible perseverance. These are the proper instruments of conversion, and peculiarly belong to the fair sex, whose eloquence, on such occasions, gives charms to devotion and ornaments to truth. The

earliest stages of Christianity received no small support from female agency and example ; and for what show of religion still appears in *our* churches, we are surely not a little indebted to the piety and attendance of the women.

The missionaries at Peking, with the exception of one or two of the youngest, appear perfectly reconciled to their situation, and to live as contentedly and happily as they probably would do in any other place. Among them the Italians and French are best informed, the most learned, and the most liberal in their sentiments ; but their coadjutors the Portuguese still retain a considerable share of ancient bigotry and rancor. They all wear the Chinese dress, acquire the language of the country, and, in outward appearance, are scarcely to be distinguished from the other inhabitants.

I come now to say a few words concerning the profane religions that are current in China. As far as I could observe none of them have much influence on the conduct of those who profess them ; whatever difference may be in the dogma, the morality is pretty nearly the same, and the practice of the same social duties approved and recommended ; but men's virtues do not always depend on their theological notions ; and the sinners of one sect are, I believe, seldom less numerous than those of another.

There is properly no established religion in China, none to which any monopoly of particular privileges is attached ; none that excludes the professors of another from office and com-

mand. The employments of the state are open to all subjects, whether they pray in a miao or a pagoda. Of those deputed by the emperor to attend my embassy, the legate followed the doctrine of the Lamas, *Fan-ta-gin* was a disciple of the Bonzes, and *Chou-ta-gin* a Confucionist; and all three were joined together in the same commission.

The Tartars for the most part profess the court religion, which is the worship of *Fo*, according to the doctrine and discipline of the grand Delai-Lama, the pope or patriarch of Lassa in Thibet, of whom so many fables have been related, and sometimes credited in Europe. From the most correct accounts of him it appears that he is a kind of ecclesiastical sovereign, under the direction of a regency, whose dominions are in themselves very considerable; but whose spiritual jurisdiction stretches from the shores of the Caspian to the sea of Kamschatka, and from the mountains of Boutan to the Frozen Ocean, an extent of belief not inferior to that of Islamism or Christianity, and hitherto as flourishing as either. The emperor *Kien-Lung*, as I have observed in my journal, is not only firmly persuaded of the truth of this religion, but, from the unexampled success of all his undertakings during a fifty years' reign, seriously entertains an idea that his progenitor, the great *Fo* himself, has condescended to become incarnate in his person, and actually at this moment to animate his imperial body.

However wild and extravagant such a conceit may be regarded, we know from history how much even the best understandings may be perverted by prosperity, and that

human nature, not satisfied with the good things of this world, sometimes wishes to anticipate the condition and felicity of the next. If Alexander scorned to have less than Jupiter Ammon for his father; if many Roman emperors extorted altars and sacrifices in their life-time; if even, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, an English nobleman encouraged the belief of his descent from a swan, and was complimented in a dedication * upon his feathered pedigree, a similar infatuation may be the less inexcusable in *Kien-Lung*, a monarch, the length and happiness of whose reign, the unlimited obedience of whose incalculable subjects, and the health and vigor of whose body have hitherto kept out of his view most of those circumstances that are apt to remind other men of the misery and mortality. At all events, he is a most scrupulous practitioner of every form of the Lama religion: and the numerous and superb convents and temples, which he has erected at Gehol, the first in the world for costliness and grandeur, are incontestible evidences of the sincerity of his faith, and the fervor of his piety. The mass of the people in China are gross idolaters, and also worship a deity by the name of *Fo*; but he is understood to be by them a different personage from the *Fo* of the court, although he is reported to have come from the westward, as well as his namesake, and to have preached his revelation at a very remote period of time, long before the Christian era. The miao or temples dedicated to this mode of religion, and the confraternities of Bonzes and Bonzesses who administer it, are prodigiously numerous

* See note relative to Stafford duke of Buckingham in Shakespear's *Henry VIII*

in all parts of China. The vulgar, as elsewhere, are in general excessively superstitious. They are strict observers of lucky and unlucky days; and many of them, like their betters, are dabblers in chiromancy, divination, and astrology. In the course of my journal I have had occasion to notice the striking resemblance between the trumpery of Chinese worship and the apparatus of the church of Rome. In several of the miao and pagodas there is a recess or alcove carefully concealed by a close curtain, the removal of which discovers the image of a beautiful woman with a crown upon her head, surrounded by a glory, and two little boys sitting at her feet; the whole seeming like a parody upon popery, or a typification of the Virgin Mary, our infant Saviour, and the young Evangelist St. John. The female figure is called the mother or parent of the gods, and is therefore sometimes represented with a number of arms branching from her shoulders, each furnished with some characteristical emblem, a sword, a spear, a sickle, a sheaf of corn, &c. A thousand legends are related and implicitly believed of this lady and her children, which are said to originate in very high antiquity, probably coeval with the Cybele of the Greeks and the Isis of Egypt. Nevertheless among all these absurdities and contradictions the Chinese, like the Indians, have a confused idea of a unity in the Godhead, and both equally pretend that though *Fo* and *Bramha* are supposed to split themselves into a number of divinities, who are named the God of the Sea, the God of the Mountains, the Goddess of Pleasure, the Goddess of Plenty, &c. yet that these are merely parts or emanations of one only su-

preme God over all, whose providence divides itself into separate functions for the better government and instruction of this sublunary world.

The higher ranks of the Chinese and those of good education are many of them what in England we courteously call free thinkers and philosophers, the rest are mostly disciples of Confucius, of whom there are two sects. The one consider their founder to have been a man of great wisdom and charity, endowed with talents and virtues much superior to the age he lived in. They venerate his name, sing his praises at their feasts, and drink bumpers to his memory, in the same manner as the whigs of Ireland do in honor of the glorious King William. But among the other Confucionists, this grateful recollection has degenerated into a corrupt superstition; the toast has changed into a libation, and what originally expressed a tribute to deceased merit is become a mixture of sanctified ceremony and convivial abuse. Even here the perversion did not stop. Sacrifices were added, and sheep and oxen are now immolated to the manes of Confucius. These rites are celebrated at stated times, and every person who presents the offering acts as hierophant himself; for this sect of enthusiasts, like the Quakers among ourselves, has always kept clear of an exclusive priesthood.

Although I have only mentioned the religions most prevalent, I must not omit that several Jews and Mahometans are to be found in China; but their number is not considerable, and they are melting fast into the common mass. We have been told that the Arabs or Musselmans came into the

country at a period so early as the ninth century. The Jews can boast of a much higher origin, and are pretended to be a remnant of the captivity. I have particularly noticed the case of these nations, in order to show that the Chinese are not intolerant of any religion, from which no danger is apprehended; as well as to disprove a common opinion prevalent in Europe that, by the antient laws of the empire, foreigners were not allowed to settle there. This notion was originally insinuated by the Jesuits, with an exception as to themselves, and more particularly disseminated by the Portuguese, but it is, in a great measure, erroneous. The fundamental caution and circumspection of the government, which is awake to the slightest alarm, and perhaps not groundlessly jealous of European enterprise, naturally keep them on their guard, and prevent them from being quite so prone to encourage strangers, as many other nations are. The immense population of the country renders such recruits unnecessary; but I do not find that their policy in this respect goes beyond its mark.

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Lay Europeans as well as missionaries, assuming the dress and manners of the Chinese, and desirous of entering into the emperor's service at Pekin, would, I believe, be received and naturalized without much difficulty. They might establish and propagate themselves there like Jews and Mahometans, and be christened or circumcised as they liked, without any notice of such practices by the magistrate or any malediction of their neighbors. I saw nothing at Canton to hinder any Englishman, who would wear the Chinese habit, and speak the Chinese language, from becom-

ing one of themselves if he chose it, and of becoming even a Hong merchant if possessed of a sufficient stock of money and address. It is true, he could not easily quit the country and return home without a particular permission. Several missionaries* however have found the means of procuring it, and are now actually resident in Europe. But whilst we are startled with such difficulties in China, how can we forget that, at this hour, no person whatever can depart from Russia without a formal passport from the chancery? An attempt to escape from such a restriction would be highly criminal, and incur a most rigorous punishment. Every foreigner whatsoever, even the most respectable English merchant at St. Petersburg, is subject to this regulation, as much as the meanest peasant in the empire.

The missionaries remaining at Pekin are considered upon the same footing as, or perhaps, in some respects, a better than the other subjects of their rank, in the immediate service of the court. Some of them have been honored by the Sovereign with particular marks of distinction and favor; and if the indispensable celibacy of their order had not prevented them from contracting matrimonial engagements, we might possibly have now found several of their posterity possessing high offices, and yet retaining their religion. It was formerly a part of their institution to keep at a distance, as much as they could, all Europeans who were not closely connected with, or entirely dependent upon, the missions; and the Portuguese Jesuits who remain alive still adhere to this maxim; but since the abolition of their society a great change has taken place in the sentiments and policy of the

other missionaries, and, I believe, most of them are now of opinion that an unqualified admission of Europeans into China would be rather favorable to their interests than prejudicial to their views.

I should not omit that the different missions possess, beside their churches and communities, several shops and houses in the city of Pekin, which they let out to the natives, and receive a handsome rent from them. They have also villas and vineyards in the country to retire to for health and devotion. The French Jesuits formerly had a very large estate there: but it was dissipated on the dissolution of their society, and only a very small part of it now remains in the hands of the order of St. Lazarus. The revenue of the two Portuguese seminaries at Pekin amounts to 12,000 taels, or 4,000*l.* a-year. That of the congregation *De Propaganda Fide* is very trifling, and the deficiencies are wholly supplied from Rome. The French *Missions Étrangères*, which are a distinct body from the Lazarists, and have their particular establishment in China, were maintained by their superiors at Paris, before the late subversion, but since that event they are left in a most deplorable situation.

In speaking of the religions of the Chinese I ought to have mentioned the *Tao-tses* or immortals, who are the most ancient of all the superstitions, being, as is pretended, some thousand years antecedent to the revelation of *Fo*; but as they are not at present very numerous, it was the less necessary to be particular on their subject. For the same reason I have not noticed the various subdivisions of the other

religious which are, from time to time, branching into new sects and fraternities, like the Methodists, Seceders, Swedenburghers, Moravians, and Muggletonians in England.

Government, Justice, and Property.

THE ancient constitution of China differed essentially from the present. Although the emperor was in truth despotic, and decorated with all the titles and epithets of Oriental hyperbole, the power and administration of the state resided in the great councils or tribunals, whose functions were not to be violated or disturbed by court intrigue or ministerial caprice. It was a government by law, and when attempts were made by their princes to render it otherwise, as often happened, rebellion was the consequence and expulsion the penalty. Hence, according to history, the regular succession of the crown was many times broken through, new sovereigns elected, and the former constitution restored. The present family on the throne is the twenty-second distinct dynasty, whose hands have swayed the sceptre of China. The government, as it now stands, is properly the tyranny of a handful of Tartars over more than three hundred millions of Chinese.

An uninterrupted succession of four emperors, all endowed with excellent understandings, uncommon vigor of mind and decision of character, has hitherto obviated the danger of such an enormous disproportion, and not only maintained itself on the throne, but enlarged its dominions to a prodigious extent.

Various causes have contributed to this wonderful phenomenon in the political world. When the Tartars entered China a century and a half ago, the country had long languished under a weak administration, had been desolated by civil wars and rebellions, and was then disputed by several unworthy competitors. The Tartars availing themselves of these circumstances, at first took part as auxiliaries in favor of one of the candidates, but they soon became principals; and, at last, by valor and perseverance, surmounted every obstacle to their own establishment. The spirit of the Chinese was now effectually subdued by the weight of calamity; they were wearied with contending for a mere choice of tyrants among themselves, and the less reluctantly submitted to a foreign usurpation. The conquerors, however terrible in arms and ferocious in their manners, were conducted by a leader of a calm judgment as well as of a resolute mind, who tempered the despotism he introduced with so much prudence and policy, that it seemed preferable to the other evils which they had so recently groaned under. A state of tranquil subjection succeeded for some time to the turbulence and horrors of a doubtful hostility; the government, though absolute, was at least methodical and regular; it menaced but did not injure; the blow might be dreaded, but it seldom was felt.

Chinese preceptors, of the highest reputation for learning and virtue, were appointed to conduct the education and instruction of the young Tartar princes, from whom were to spring the future sovereigns of the empire. The Chinese language was preserved as the language of the state, the

highest veneration was affected for the ancient institutes and laws; the established forms of office and pageantry of administration were retained, and the external manners and deportment of the vanquished were assumed by the victors. All these contributed at first to impose upon the people, and to reconcile many of them to the new government. From hence has arisen a vulgar mistake, that the Tartars had indiscriminately and sincerely adopted all the maxims, principles, and customs of the Chinese; and that the two nations were now perfectly amalgamated and incorporated together. So far as respects the habit and head-dress, they are certainly assimilated; but it is not the Tartar who has conformed to the Chinese *costume*, but the Chinese who has been obliged to imitate the Tartar. The nature and character of each continue unchanged, and their different situations and intrinsic sentiments cannot be concealed under any disguise. Superiority animates the one, depression is felt by the other. Most of our books confound them together, and talk of them, as if they made only one nation, under the general name of China; but whatever might be concluded from any outward appearances, the real distinction is never forgotten by the sovereign, who, though he pretends to be perfectly impartial, conducts himself at bottom by a systematic nationality, and never for a moment loses sight of the cradle of his power. The science of government, in the *Eastern world*, is understood by those who govern very differently from what it is in the *Western*. When the succession of a contested kingdom in Europe is once ascertained, whether by violence or compromise, the nation returns to its pristine regularity and composure; it matters

little whether a Bourbon or an Austrian fills the throne of Naples or of Spain, because the sovereign, whoever he be, then becomes to all intents and purposes a Spaniard or Neapolitan, and his descendants continue so with accelerated velocity. George the First and George the Second ceased to be foreigners from the moment our sceptre was fixed in their hands : his present majesty is as much an Englishman as king Alfred or king Edgar, and governs his people not by Teutonic but by English laws. The policy of Asia is totally opposite. There the prince regards the place of his nativity as an accident of mere indifference. If the parent-root be good, he thinks it will flourish in every soil, and, perhaps, acquire fresh vigor from transplantation. It is not locality but his own cast and family ; it is not the country where he drew his breath, but the blood from which he sprung ; it is not the scenery of the theatre, but the spirit of the drama, that engages his attention and occupies his thoughts. A series of two hundred years, in the succession of eight or ten monarchs, did not change the Mogul into a Hindoo, nor has a century and a half made *Kien-Lung* a Chinese. He remains at this hour, in all his maxims of policy, as true a Tartar as any of his ancestors.

The viceroys of the provinces, the commanders of the armies, the great officers of state are almost all Tartars. The detail of business indeed, and the laborious departments, are chiefly carried on by the Chinese, as being more regularly educated, more learned, and more patient than the Tartars, who, in general, have a different turn, and prefer active military duty to tranquil or sedentary occupations. In all the tribunals of

Justice and finance, in all the courts of civil or military administration, an equal number of Tartar assessors is indispensably necessary to be present, in order to watch over and control the others. A Chinese may preside at the board, and pronounce the opinion, but the prompter and manager is a Tartar who directs and governs the performers. These regulations and precautions sufficiently disclose the sovereign's real opinion of his tenure of the empire, and how little he depends upon the affection and loyalty of his Chinese subjects. The government of China, as now instituted, may not inaptly be compared to Astley's amphitheatre, where a single jockey rides a number of horses at once, who are so nicely bitted and dressed that he can impel them with a whisper, or stop them with a hair; but, at the same time, he knows the consequence of mismanagement or neglect, and that if they are not properly matched, curried and fed, patted and stroked, some of them will be liable to run out of the circle, to kick at their keepers, and refuse to be mounted any longer. Considering then all circumstances, the original defect of title to the inheritance, the incessant anxiety of forcible possession, the odium of a foreign yoke, the inevitable combats of passion in a sovereign's breast, when deceived by artifice, betrayed by perfidy, or provoked by rebellion, the doubtful and intricate boundaries of reward and punishment, where vigor and indulgence may be equally misapplied, the almost incalculable population, the immense extent of dominion, the personal exertions requisite in war, and the no less difficult talents of administration in peace—considering, I say, all these circumstances, the government of such an empire must be a task of inconceivable vigilance and toil: and

yet it is a task that has hitherto been performed with wonderful ability and unparalleled success. That such singular skill in the art of reigning should have been uninterruptedly transmitted through a succession of four princes for upwards of a century and a half would be very difficult to account for, if we did not constantly bear in mind a fundamental principle of the state: all power and authority in China derive solely from the sovereign, and they are not only distributed by him in his life time, but attest their origin after his decease. The appointment of his successor is exclusively vested in him. Without regard to *primogeniture*, without the fondness of a parent, without the partiality of a friend, he acts on this occasion as the father of the state, and selects the person of his family, whom he judges the most worthy, to replace him. Every choice of this kind, as yet made by the present dynasty, has been unexceptionably fortunate. *Caung-shee* proved as great a prince as his father; *Yong-chin* was inferior to neither; and *Kien-lung* surpasses the glory of all his predecessors. Who is the Atlas destined by him to bear this load of empire when he dies is yet unknown; but on whatever shoulders it may fall, another transmigration of *Fo* into the next emperor will be necessary to enable him to sustain it on its present balance; for although, within the serene atmosphere of the court, every thing wears the face of happiness and applause, yet it cannot be concealed, that the nation in general is far from being easy or contented. The frequent insurrections in the distant provinces are unambiguous oracles of the real sentiments and temper of the people; the predominance of the Tartars and the emperor's partiality to them are the common subject of

conversation among the Chinese, whenever they meet together in private, and the constant theme of their discourse. There are certain mysterious societies in every province who are known to be disaffected; and although narrowly watched by the government, they find means to elude its vigilance, and often to hold secret assemblies, where they revive the memory of ancient glory and independence, brood over recent injuries, and meditate revenge.

Though much circumscribed in the course of our travels, we had opportunities of observation seldom afforded to others, and not neglected by us. The genuine character of the inhabitants, and the effects resulting from the refined polity and principles of the government, which are meant to restrain and direct them, naturally claimed my particular attention and inquiry. In my researches I often perceived the ground to be hollow under a vast superstructure, and in trees of the most flourishing and stately appearance I discovered symptoms of speedy decay; whilst humbler plants were held by vigorous roots, and mean edifices rested on steady foundations. The Chinese are now recovering from the blows that had stunned them; they are awaking from the political stupor they had been thrown into by the Tartar impression, and begin to feel their native energies revive. A slight collision might elicit fire from the flint, and spread flames of revolt from one extremity of China to the other. In fact, the volume of the empire is now grown too ponderous and disproportionate to be easily grasped by a single hand, be it ever so capacious and strong. It is possible, notwithstanding, that the momentum impressed on the ma-

rhine by the vigor and wisdom of the present emperor, may keep it steady and entire in its orbit for a considerable time longer; but I should not be surprised if its dislocation or dismemberment were to take place before my own dissolution. Whenever such an event happens, it will probably be attended with all the horrors and atrocities from which they were delivered by the Tartar domination; but men are apt to lose the memory of former evils under the pressure of immediate suffering; and what can be expected from those who are corrupted by servitude, exasperated by despotism and maddened by despair? Their condition, however, might then become still worse than it can be at present. Like the slave who fled into the desert from his chains, and was devoured by the lion, they may draw down upon themselves oppression and destruction by their very effort to avoid them may be poisoned by their own remedies, and be buried themselves in the graves which they dug for others. A sudden transition from slavery to freedom, from dependence to authority, can seldom be borne with moderation or discretion. Every change in the state of man ought to be gentle and gradual, otherwise it is commonly dangerous to himself, and intolerable to others. A due preparation may be as necessary for liberty as for inoculation of the small-pox which, like liberty, is future health, but without due preparation is almost certain destruction. Thus then the Chinese, if not led to emancipation by degrees, but let loose on a burst of enthusiasm, would probably fall into all the excesses of folly, suffer all the paroxysms of madness, and be found as unfit for the enjoyment of freedom as the French and the negroes.

Justice. In the ancient accounts of China, the administration of its justice, the strict impartiality observed in rewarding desert, and in inflicting punishment, the equal security afforded to all men by the laws, are mentioned in such high strains of eulogy, that we are tempted to suppose this was the spot where the last footsteps of *Astrea* were imprinted. So long a period has elapsed since that time, that the marks are a good deal effaced, and seem to be wearing out every day. This is the natural consequence of a convulsion in the ancient government, and particularly of the last grand revolution, when it could scarcely be expected that the balance of justice should be held with an equal hand between the conquerors and the conquered. It is, however, pretended by many, that little or no alteration has been made: the common modes of procedure are continued; the usual formality in the pleadings is observed; and the same solemnity of decision is practised as before; but the consumption of the body cannot be concealed by the fullness of the robe.

My friend *Chou-ta-gin* (who, as civil governor of a city of the first rank on which several others are dependent, has a very extensive judicial range and jurisdiction) endeavored to impress me with an idea of the equity and regularity of the courts where he presided; and as I entertain a very favorable opinion of him, I dare say that few of the others are better ordered or more pure; but it escaped from him in conversation that considerable presents were often made by the suitor to the judge. I took this occasion of explaining to him as well as I could the nature and principles of our jurisprudence and

establishments, which placed the dispensers of justice above temptation by the magnitude of their salaries, and therefore rendered the acceptance of presents as unnecessary as improper. To this he answered, that the circumstance of presents in China ought not to be misinterpreted, and that the offering and receiving them formed a part of their ceremonies, and were an established usage from which no mischief was to be feared. He seemed so much prejudiced in favor of the manners of his country in this instance, and so little aware of what they must lead to, that he further informed me, that the presents on these occasions were always proportioned to the opulence of the donors, and to the rank of the persons to whom they were made; and when I expressed my suspicion that a poor man who had little to give, must run a bad chance in a law-suit with a rich man who had much, he assured me that perquisites of office (as these things are considered) had seldom any influence on the determination of a cause. Perhaps, he did not wish to deceive me; for there are some favorite points on which men are often apt to deceive themselves: but allowing his own particular conduct to be as unexceptionable as he meant me to believe it, yet I have strong ground to suspect the general course of justice to be very much otherwise; and that this practice of present, sanctioned as it is by usage and authority, is perverted to the worst purposes, and grown into an intolerable abuse. A missionary, indeed, in talking to me once upon this subject, seemed to apologize for the Chinese, by saying, that they give and receive these presents rather from custom and fashion than from bad motives, and that

if they are corrupt, they are so without being aware of it. The true meaning of all which is that, through an appearance of decency and gravity of proceeding, justice wears a double face, and that integrity is professed though bribery be allowed: another person, who had still better opportunities of knowing these matters, made no scruple of dashing out to me, that money was well known to be the great instrument of decision in their courts, which generally found reason in the bottom of the longest purse: but the influence of preliminary presents is supposed to prevail also in the other departments. No introduction can be obtained, no business effected without it. A refusal would be considered by the suitor as an unequivocal mark of hostility. This infamous system is universal among the Orientals, and is, I conceive, a principal cause of their decay and subversion. All the other great monarchies of the east, which we are acquainted with, have been overturned by it, one after another, and it will probably some day have its share in the catastrophe of China. In the criminal department capital punishment is not so comprehensive as with us. Fine and imprisonment, flagellation and exile are the usual inflictions, except in cases of blood, which admit of no pardon or commutation.

There are six modes of capital punishment.

1. Cutting into ten thousand pieces.
2. Cutting into eight pieces, or what is called double quartering, both of which operations are performed upon the living subject.

3. Béheading.

4. Strangling, which is the least infamous of all, but excessively barbarous, the patient being nine times drawn up and let down, the cord nine times restricted and relaxed, before the final suffocation.

5. Burning with green faggots.

6. Beating to death with cudgels.

The sheriffs' calendar is said to be usually very large ; but there is a general gaol delivery once in every year, at which the prisoners are either punished or released, unless where particular circumstances require a longer detention.

I had been informed that a delinquent was sometimes allowed; when sentenced to be bamboozed, to hire another person to undergo the punishment in his place ; but the fact was strongly denied. Neither did I find it now to be true, though possibly it may have been so in former times, that a son might substitute himself for his father's punishment.

The order and administration of the gaols are said to be remarkably good ; the debtor and the felon are confined in separate places, and not permitted to approach each other. This is an excellent regulation ; it seems equally impolitic and immoral to associate guilt with imprudence, and confound wickedness and misfortune by promiscuous imprison-

ment. By the laws of China the case of a debtor is, in other respects, extremely cruel. Although he should resign every farthing of his property, yet if it be insufficient to discharge the whole of his debt, and his relations cannot or will not make up the deficiency, he is condemned to wear a neck yoke in public for a certain period. If his insolvency be incurred by gaming, he is liable besides to a corporal punishment.

A man may sell himself in some cases, as, for instance, to discharge a debt to the crown, or to procure money for enabling him to bury his father, but, if he behaves himself well during his servitude, he is entitled to his liberty at the end of twenty years; if otherwise he continues a slave for life, and his children also if he had included them in the original agreement. The emperor's debtors, if fraudulently such, are strangled; if such only by common misfortunes, their wives and children and property of every kind are sold, and themselves banished into the wilds of Tartary; but though this may strictly be the letter of the law, he always makes a merit of forgiving those who, from unavoidable misfortunes, have nothing left to pay. Oaths are not required in civil or criminal causes; if voluntarily offered they are always suspected; and yet, what is singular enough, the torture is sometimes used in both, to procure evidence and confession.

It is not invariably, though generally, true that all sentences of death are signed by the emperor. There have of late been several occasions, where the first magistrate has

taken upon himself to execute criminals upon the spot for treason, rebellion, atrocious murder, &c. He takes his chance for approbation, and usually obtains it.

Property. As in China the interests of the emperor are always the first consideration, no property can be secured against his claims: in cases of delinquency, confiscation is inevitable.

Entails are unknown in this country, and a man may dispose of his fortune, real and personal, in the manner most agreeable to himself. By law he may even devise it to the Bonzes or other religious fraternities, but of late such bequests are very rare; for the policy of the state, although unwilling positively to prohibit an ancient right, however imprudently exercised, yet renders its abuse as little hurtful as possible, by quartering officers, travellers, couriers, and others upon most of the miao and temples that are endowed in mortmain, so that posthumous folly is defeated, and idleness made to contribute to the maintenance of industry.

A testator often leaves his estates to his wife, especially in the case of the minority of his children; but if a man dies without a will, his lands and personalty are equally divided among his sons, reserving a proper dower for the widow, which varies according to the province where she chuses to reside. The daughters have nothing, but are maintained, until they marry, by their brothers; and if there be no brothers, by their next inheriting relations.

There are many great landed estates in China, some even to the amount of 100,000*l.* a year, accumulated by various means, by legacies, by clandestine trade, that is to say, by trade carried on by inferior agents with the capitals of great men to whom trade is directly forbidden, by usury, by employments, by presents, &c. A widow at *Ticu-sing*, whose husband had been enriched in this manner, and who left her his fortune (his four sons being minors) not long since sent a million of taels of silver (333,333 *l.* sterling) as a present to the emperor towards the expense of the Thibet war.

The legal interest of money is twelve per cent. but it is commonly extended to eighteen and sometimes even to thirty-six. Usury is punishable by the laws but, as in most other countries, is rarely punished. Usury, like gaming, is a dishonorable mode of getting money; but by a sort of compact between necessity and avarice, between affluence and distress, the prosecution of a Jew or a sharper is considered as not very honorable even in those who suffer from them.

In farms (which are usually let for three, five or seven years, resumable by the landlord or relinquishable by the tenant at the end of any of those terms according to the contract) the owner divides the crop with the cultivator. The latter has one half entirely to himself, the former takes the other half, and pays out of it the emperor's tax; which is considered to be always the same, whether the season be plentiful or scanty. If, however, it prove to be very unusually bad, an abatement may be made upon due representation. Five per cent. is said to be the emperor's proper share of

the valued crop; but the valuation (which is an arbitrary one of the crown officer) is generally fixed so much higher than the current price of produce, that the landlord's commutation with the crown is sometimes not less than eight or ten per cent. instead of five. Though twelve per cent. be the legal interest, yet land sells for twenty years' purchase in the neighbourhood of Peking.

The only current money in China is a thin brass or copper coin, about the breadth of a shilling, with a square hole in the middle, for the purpose of being strung. A thousand of these pieces, which are called by us *cash*, and sometimes *sapccas*, are esteemed at a *taël** or Chinese ounce of silver, and ten drachms or *chen* make a *taël* or 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling.

I here annex the prices current of several articles at Peking, as I collected it from the best information I received on the spot.

	Taëls.	Sapccas.
A common horse - - -	20 to 25	
An ox or beast for slaughter -	15 to 20	
A cow - - -	* 10 to 15	
A pound of beef - - -	- - -	40
A pound of mutton - - -	- - -	50
A pound of veal - - -	- - -	45
A pound of pork - - -	- - -	50
A pound of ham - - -	- - -	80
A fowl - - -	- - -	100

* *Sapcca* and *tael* are the names introduced by the Portuguese, but the proper Chinese words are *Lee* and *Liang*.

	Taels.	Sapecas.
A duck	-	150
A goose	-	500
An egg	-	3
A pound of rice	-	24
A pound of flour	-	20
The complete dress of a peasant	2 or perhaps	2500
Ditto of a Mandarin of rank	20	
Ditto of an inferior Mandarin	8	
Ditto of ceremony of a high Mandarin	100	
Ditto if enriched	1000	
A saddle and bridle	16 to 25	
A pair of black sattin boots	2½	
Ditto of leather	2	
A cap or bonnet	2 to 4	
Salt per pound	-	35

A Chinese peasant can maintain himself for fifty sapecas a day. Our boatmen who drew the yachts in the provinces which we passed through generally were paid eighty sapecas a day, or one sapeca for each *ly*, or three hundred and sixty geometrical paces.

A common weaver, joiner or other tradesman earns little more than a bare subsistence, unless he should prove remarkably expert and ingenious, in which case he would be paid according to his abilities. It does not appear that there is always sufficient employment for the people, whose multitude is so great as to exceed the means of subsistence by labor, so that many who are able and willing to work are obliged to depend upon the alms of private charity, or seek

for support in the public hospitals; and notwithstanding these resources it is affirmed that, in every year, vast numbers perish of hunger and cold. The summers are so warm that the common sort go almost naked, and the winter is so rigorous that the mortality is very great from the want of clothing and shelter. In the different provinces of the empire there are often partial famines, and whenever they are attended with serious or fatal consequences, the Mandarin of the district is punished, according to Chinese policy, for not having foreseen the calamity, and replenished the magazine sufficiently to remedy the accident. From the misery to which a large proportion of the people are thus exposed (the majority is indeed very wretched in all respects) it is not to be wondered, that they should lose every sense but that of self-preservation; that they should forget the other ties of nature, and sell their children without scruple if they find a chapman, and desert them without pity if they do not. This is the common reproach of strangers to the Chinese, but it should not be made with too much precipitation and severity; for I believe, where the parent has any possible means of supporting his offspring, there is no country where paternal affection is stronger than in China; and it is natural that it should be so, because there is no country where filial respect and gratitude are so strong.

Population.

THE population of China has always been considered by Europeans as much greater in proportion to its extent than the population of any other country. The printed accounts of it vary much. My friend Father Amyot's calculations,

as given in Grözier's description of China, seem not to have been well understood by the person who copied or digested them; for in one place he is made to say, that the population in 1743 amounted to near 200,000,000, exclusive of the province of *Fo-kien*; and, in another place, that, in the same year, it exceeded 280,000,000. I wished to have had this difficulty reconciled, but the good father being in a dying condition when I was at Peking, and consequently not well able to review his notes, I was disappointed of the correct information which I expected from that quarter. There is another table of the population in 1761, given by Grozier, where it is stated at upwards of 198,000,000, and he tells us that it is founded on the best authority. Monsieur Pauw, and some other writers of his turn, have amused the public with their speculations upon China, and are disposed to undervalue every thing that belongs to it, and particularly to dispute its populousness.

On the other hand, I have received an enumeration strongly asserted to be genuine, which assigns no less than 333,000,000.

A foreigner from an imperfect knowledge of the language, from misapprehension or misinterpretation, from want of access to public offices, or from the scantiness or inaccuracy of private information, is often liable to argue ignorantly and falsely, sometimes to take things for granted that should be denied, and sometimes to reject what ought to be received. Whatever, therefore, I may say upon this subject, is not meant to be delivered in a tone either of conviction or disbelief in myself, but solely for the disquisition and judgment of others.

China Proper, exclusive of the Tartar dominions, contains about 831,000,000 acres, or about 1,298,000 square miles. France contains about 103,000,000, or about 162,000 square miles. If China then be eight times as large as France, the sum total of 333,000,000 is not so high an estimation as at first sight it would appear to be. Messieurs Moheau and Neckar estimate the population of France at 26,000,000, and Dr. Price carries it beyond 28,000,000. Supposing then the two countries to be equally populous in proportion to their extent, China, upon such a calculation, ought to contain 216,000,000, taking 27,000,000 as the medium between Dr. Price and the other two gentlemen. But having formerly travelled over the greatest part of France, and resided a considerable time in that kingdom, when in its most flourishing state, long before the late subversion, and having very lately travelled through China from its northern to its southern extremity, I should be inclined to say without hesitation, in judging from the respective appearances of the two countries, that China was at least twice as populous as France, whereas the above account of 333,000,000 to 216,000,000 admits the population of China to be in proportion to that of France as to 1½ to 1, or little more than 3 to 2. In truth, the immense numbers which occurred in every part of China where I passed in the towns, the country, on the rivers, and the seas that wash its coasts, very far exceeded any idea that I had formed on the subject, especially as all the people who appeared (very few excepted, perhaps not 500 in all) were males. The state of the population, as marked in the table, was given to me by *Chou-ta-gin*, a mandarine of high rank, and supreme governor of *Tien-sing*, who was one of those appointed by the emperor

to attend my embassy from the moment of my arrival on the coast of *Pe-tche-li*. He was a man of letters and information, and from habit and frequent converse, contracted a strong friendship and affection for me. He nevertheless had all the vanity of a Chinese; and the more he was impressed with the manifest superiority of the Europeans, which he could not avoid being very sensible of in his long intercourse with us, the more was he disposed to exaggerate the grandeur of his country, its population and other circumstances of national fondness.

Table of the Population and Extent of China Proper, within the Great Wall.

Provinces.		Population.	Square Miles.	Acres.
Pe-tche-li,	- -	38,000,000	58,949	37,727,360
Kiang-nan,	- -	32,000,000	92,961	59,495,040
Kiang-see,	- -	19,000,000	72,176	46,192,640
Tche-kiang,	- -	21,000,000	39,150	25,056,000
Fo-kien,	- - -	15,000,000	53,480	34,227,200
Hou-pee, } Hou-quang,	{	{ 14,000,000 }	144,770	92,652,800
Hou-nan, }	{	{ 13,000,000 }		
Honan,	- - -	25,000,000	65,104	41,666,560
Chan-tong,	- -	24,000,000	65,104	41,666,560
Chan-si,	- - -	27,000,000	55,268	35,371,520
Chen-si,	- - -	18,000,000	154,008	98,565,120
Kan-sou,	- - -	12,000,000		
Se-chuen,	- -	27,000,000	166,800	106,752,000
Quang-tong,	- -	21,000,000	79,456	50,851,840
Quang-si,	- -	10,000,000	78,250	50,080,000
Yu-nan,	- - -	8,000,000	107,969	69,100,160
Koei-cheou,	- - -	9,000,000	64,554	41,314,560
Total		333,000,000	1,297,999	830,719,360

Thus have I given the table of population as I received it from *Chou-ta-gin*. How far it may be exact, I have no means of ascertaining; but he assured me that I might depend upon it. When I expressed my doubts upon the subject, he laughed, as if he thought it ridiculous to question a matter of such notoriety; and added, that it appears from an ancient authentic register of 200 years old, that then above 57,000,000 of males, from 20 to 30 years of age, were assessed to the capitation, such being at that time the mode of levying the taxes, which was afterwards altered, and the whole burden laid upon the land. Since the accession of the present emperor's family to the throne, the influx of people from Tartary must have greatly increased the number of inhabitants.

The contents in square miles and acres, as given in the table above, are extracted from the Jesuits' map of China, undertaken and completed in the reign of *Caun-shee* by his special command.

If one-fourth of the surface of China were to be deducted for roads, canals, marshes, mountains, and other uncultivable grounds, there would still remain 623,039,520 profitable acres, or very nearly two acres to each individual, assuming the population as above at 333,000,000, or 337 persons to a square mile. It may be added also, that almost the whole of this extent is appropriated to the cultivation of food for man.

As to the population of Chinese Tartary, it was impossible to obtain any intelligence, the Chinese being almost as ignorant of that country as we are, scarcely any of them having

ever seen it, except a few officers sent on military duty, and persons banished to it for crimes. The Chinese talk of Tartary as of a country half as big as the rest of the world besides, but their conceptions of its limits are very dark and confused. There is a wide difference between pretension and possession.

When I was the king's minister at St. Petersburg, the common idea prevalent at court there was, that the Russian dominions comprehended one-twelfth part of the land upon the globe, and since that time they have been very considerably enlarged. Upon the whole I should think that the extent of the two empires of China and Russia is pretty nearly equal; and that the two together make one-sixth part of the land on the earth's surface, and about one twenty-third of the whole terraqueous globe.

Revenue.

THE revenues of this great empire are said to be little less than two hundred millions of taëls * or 66,666,666 l. sterling, or about four times those of Great Britain, or three times those of France before the late subversion. They consist of

1. The impost upon land.
2. The gabelle upon salt.
3. The customs and other smaller taxes.

* I have given the revenue in round numbers, but the Chinese, who have a fanciful predilection for odd numbers, call it one hundred and ninety-nine millions, nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand, nine hundred and ninety-nine taëls.

From the produce of these three branches all the civil and military expenses and incidental and extraordinary charges are first paid on the spot, out of the treasuries of the provinces where such expenses are incurred, and the remainder is remitted to the imperial treasury at Peking. This surplus is said to have amounted in the year 1792 to the sum of 36,614,328 taels, or 12,204,776*l.* sterling, according to the following account which I received from Chou-ta-gin.

Account of Revenue received into the Imperial Treasury at Peking from the several Provinces of China Proper.

Provinces.	Taels	Total in Taels.	Measures of Rice and other Grain
Pe-tche-li	2,520,000 land 437,000 salt 79,000 taxes	3,036,000	none.
Kiang-nan	5,200,000 land 2,100,000 salt 910,000 taxes	8,210,000	1,440,000
Kiang-si	1,900,000 land 220,000 taxes	2,120,000	795,000
Tche-kiang	3,100,000 land 520,000 salt 190,000 taxes	3,810,000	780,000
Fo-kien	1,110,000 land 87,000 salt 80,000 taxes	1,277,000	none.
Hou-quang	Hou-pe 1,300,000 land 10,000 taxes	1,310,000	100,000
	Hou-nan 1,310,000 land 35,000 taxes	1,345,000	100,000
Carried forward	21,108,000	21,108,000	3,215,000

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Provinces.	Taels.	Total in Taels.	Measures of Rice and other Grain.
Brought over	- - - -	21,108,000	3,215,000
Ho-nan	3,200,000 land 13,000 taxes	3,213,000	230,000
Chan-tong	3,440,000 land 130,000 salt 30,000 taxes	3,600,000	360,000
Chan-si	3,100,000 land 510,000 salt 112,000 taxes	3,722,000	none.
Chen-si	1,660,000 land 40,000 taxes	1,700,000	none.
Kiang-sou	300,000 land 40,000 taxes	340,000	220,000
Se-chuen	640,000 land 30,000 taxes	670,000	none.
Quang-tung	1,280,000 land 50,000 salt 10,000 taxes	1,340,000	none.
Quang-si	420,000 land 50,000 salt 30,000 taxes	500,000	none.
Yu-nan	210,000 land	210,000	220,000
Koei-cheou	120,000 land 10,000 salt 15,000 taxes	145,000	none.
Total Taels		<u>36,548,000</u>	<u>4,245,000</u>

From the preceding table the surplus revenue of 1792 received into the emperor's treasury at Peking, after all the public expenses are defrayed, will stand as follows :

Land, salt, and taxes	-	36,548,000	Taels or	12,182,666 <i>l.</i> sterl.
4,245,000 measures of rice	}	66,328		22,109
at 1½d. per measure				
		<hr/>		
		36,614,328	Taels or	<hr/> 12,204,775 <i>l.</i> sterl. <hr/>

The ordinary military establishment I have calculated at 74,974,450 taels or 24,991,483*l.**, and the civil establishment at 2,960,000 taels or 986,666*l.** which two sums being doubled for extraordinaries, and allowing 7,500,000 taels, or 2,500,000*l.* for unforeseen expense, and adding the emperor's residue of 36,614,328 taels, will give the sum of 199,983,228 taels, or 66,661,076*l.* or very nearly the total estimated revenue of China.

At Peking are two treasuries, one called the *State Treasury*, into which the surplus above mentioned of 36,614,328 taels is paid, and out of which are issued all monies for the emperor's expenses, his palaces, pagodas, and other buildings, his tables, his gardens, wives, concubines, sons, grandsons, and more distant princes of the blood, and the general charges of the court. The other, called the *Secret Treasury*, receives the confiscations, the presents, the Tartar tributes, and some other articles, all which, together with the residue from the state treasury, form what may properly be considered as the emperor's

* See the next article under the head of " Civil and Military Ranks and Establishments."

privy purse. This is the regular course of business ; but as the present government is entirely despotic, the empêrör may act according to his pleasure in revenue matters, as in all others ; but, it is said, he has not been known to interrupt the usual administration. His treasures are supposed to be immense, arising solely from the regular unavoidable savings of the state treasury and secret treasury, his revenue from hence very far exceeding his disbursements. The greater part is kept in Moukden, the capital of Mantchoo Tartary, for I doubt whether the Tartars yet think themselves secure at Pekin, considering the prodigious disproportion between them and the Chinese, and their mutual jealousy and antipathy. Scarcely a year passes without an insurrection in some of the distant provinces, and there are actually at present some very serious disturbances in *Se-chuen*, to quell which *Foo-chün-tong* (so often mentioned in my journal), who was formerly viceroy of Canton, and afterwards commanded in Thibet on the frontier of Napaul, has been lately appointed.

Having said above that the 12,204,776*l.* remitted to the state treasury of Pekin was the emperor's share of the general revenue, after all expenses first paid, it would seem from hence as if it were liable to variation, and that in some years it might be more, and in others less ; but I have reason to imagine that it seldom, if ever, falls below that sum, because *Sun-ta-gin*, who accompanied me from Pekin to *Han-chou-foo*, informed me, that whenever any extraordinary aids or supplies became necessary, on occasion of wars and other occurrences, they were levied by additional taxes on the pro-

vinces adjacent to the scene of action; and upon this ground it was that he accounted for the increased duties on the commerce of Canton, which our merchants complained of. Those duties, he said, had been laid on towards the support of the war in Tonquin, which country adjoins Canton, but that the war being finished, they would hereafter be reduced.

In the administration of so vast a revenue, especially in the distant provinces, those to whom it is entrusted have, no doubt, frequent opportunities of committing great abuses; and that they do not always neglect them, is pretty evident from the immense confiscations accruing to the emperor. It is indeed affirmed, that much corruption and oppression prevail in most of the departments of the state. To what degree this may be true, I know not; but admitting it in a very great extent, the subject in China may be considered as more favored in point of taxation than the subjects of any other country; for if the whole revenue were to be reduced to a capitation, it would not amount to more than five shillings per head on the population of the empire: by an analogous computation the people of Ireland would pay to government eight shillings per head; the people of France (before the subversion) sixteen shillings per head, and the people of Great Britain, thirty-four shillings per head.

With regard to the revenue which the emperor of China draws from his Tartar dominions, I could not procure any information to be depended on of its amount. Besides what he may receive from his demesnes there, the chiefs of the Tar-

tar banners, and their vassals, pay a certain tribute which is every day encreasing, either because they are now more able, or because they are more willing to pay it than formerly.

Tartar goods, or goods imported into China by the way of Tartary, such as furs, leather, woollen cloth, &c. are liable only to a very moderate custom at the great wall on entry into China; but all the China goods exported to Tartary pass duty free.

I observed in the beginning of the present section, that the revenue consisted of three branches, the land, the salt, and the smaller taxes. The first is levied, according to a certain fixed rule, upon the produce of the land (*vide* head "Property"); the second, or salt, is a monopoly, or extensive privilege of making that article, granted by the emperor to particular persons, for which they pay to the crown a fixed proportion according to the local circumstances of the province where it is manufactured, one third being the rate settled in one district, one fourth in another, and so on. The third branch consists of certain taxes or customs upon goods passing over bridges, canals, and roads, and entering into cities and walled towns; also on the sale of cattle, and some other minuter objects. In the collection of these revenues, I understand that the subordinate officers have considerable fees and perquisites: for in China, as in some other countries, no business can be expedited through the lower departments without them.

Export and import duties ought regularly to be levied *ad valorem* of the articles, but the collector often takes upon

himself, arbitrarily, to estimate the value according to his own fancy. Thus, for instance, I have heard he has been sometimes known at Canton to tax a bale of coarse cloth as highly as a bale of superfine; and that in weighing off raw silk at the custom-house beam, he has called 120 pounds a pecul, levied the duty accordingly, and discharged the scale, although a pecul be really $133\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. and not 120 lbs. Thus these taxes, though possibly not in themselves exorbitant, are yet so liable to abuse in the administration, as often to become serious grievances; and foreigners must remain exposed to them till they have taken the trouble of learning the language of the country, and can make themselves heard and understood; for however rapacious a Chinese officer may be, he is apt to shrink from a bold and clamorous complainant, as he is sure that though the latter may possibly not be redressed, yet notorious delinquency in himself is not likely to pass unpunished.

Civil and Military Ranks and Establishments.

IN China there is properly no hereditary nobility. The children and collaterals of the sovereign enjoy a certain degree of consideration dependent on the favor with which they are regarded at court; but as that advantage is liable to grow weaker by their lengthening distance from the throne, or fountain of honor, they may in process of time sink into the mass of the people, and be scarcely distinguished from them otherwise than by their yellow and red girdles, which none but such as are of the imperial blood are privileged to wear. Those who descend from the reigning (which pretends to be

the elder) branch, are adorned with a yellow sash, those who descend from the younger, with a red one.

It is affirmed that the posterity of Confucius, who are still extant, enjoy certain hereditary honours transmitted to them from their great ancestors, but I am not precisely informed of the nature of them, nor of the advantages which they confer.

Rank in China is generally supposed to be the reward of merit and service; and it frequently is so; but there appears to be one glaring partiality in the distribution of it: a Chinese seldom attains the highest degree till very advanced in life, but I have seen Tartars already possessed of it at the age of five or six and twenty.

Formerly persons in office were chiefly known by their robe of ceremony, but as it was not constantly worn in common, the present emperor *Kien-long* invented or founded the distinction of the bead or button, which being fixed on the top of the cap, evidently and immediately denotes the title of the wearer. Of these buttons he established eight classes, attainable by the civil and military without distinction, which are as follow :

1. The button of red coral, smooth.
2. The button of red coral, carved or flourished.
3. The button of light transparent blue.
4. The button of light opake blue.

5. The button of clear white chrystal.
6. The button of opaque milk white.
7. The button of brass gilt, smooth.
8. The button of brass gilt, engraved and flourished.

And besides these, there is another distinction superior to all, being a ruby colored or rather amethyst colored button, and of a larger size than the others, which is only conferred on Tartar princes, and persons allied to the emperor.

In all the public acts and papers, a Mandarin is invariably stiled according to the order of his button; and if he should be degraded to an inferior one on account of delinquency, as very frequently happens, he is obliged to be the herald or publisher of his own shame, and to write himself ——— Mandarin, formerly of the' ——— class, but now degraded to the ——— class. This mode of punishment is considered rather as a kind of fatherly correction from the emperor to a faulty child, than as a mark of much severity; and the culprit, after a certain term of contrition and probation, is usually restored to his former dignity.

In so extensive an empire, the number of Mandarines, or persons employed in the different civil and military situations, must be prodigiously great; but I shall content myself in this sketch with giving only a list of the chief officers of business, observing at the same time that under them there are some thousands of Mandarines, who wear the gilt button, appointed by viceroys, commanders of armies and presidents.

of tribunals, who are allowed that privilege when the necessity of the service requires it, but are punished if found to abuse it.

A List of the Chief Civil Officers, distinguishing their Number, Station, and Salaries.

No.		Salary of each. Tails per ann.	Total.
11.	The <i>Tson-tou</i> , or Viceroy over one or more provinces, - - -	20,000	220,000
15.	The <i>Foo-yen</i> , or Governor under him of each province, - - -	16,000	240,000
19.	The <i>Hoo-poo</i> , or Fiscal, the Chief Officer of revenue, - - -	9,000	171,000
18.	The <i>An-za-tze</i> , or President of the criminal tribunals, - - -	6,000	108,000
86.	The <i>Tao-quen</i> , or Governor presiding over more than one city of the first order, and their dependencies, -	3,000	258,000
184.	The <i>Foo-quen</i> , or Governor only of one city of the first order, and its dependencies, - - -	2,000	368,000
149.	The <i>Kiou-quen</i> , or Governor of a city of the second order, - - -	1,000	149,000
1375.	The <i>Lieu-quen</i> , or Governor of a city of the third order, - - -	800	1,044,000
17.	The <i>Lieu-jou</i> , or President of science and examinations, - - -	3,000	402,000
117.	The <i>Cho-tao</i> , or Inspectors-General, - }		
Total Tails			<hr/> 2,960,000

The salaries of these officers are sometimes lessened or increased according to the varying state of the provinces and cities, some decaying, and others improving, which is regularly reported to the *Cho-taos* or inspectors every year. Extraordinary allowances are also paid to these officers on occasion of any extraordinary trouble or expense incurred in their departments, such as by the passage of great persons, ambassadors, &c. through the places where they are to do the honors to them of their respective stations.

My information relative to the military of China is principally derived from *Van-ta-gin*, an officer of high rank in the army who, together with *Chou-ta-gin* (the Mandarin particularly mentioned under the heads of Population and Revenue), was deputed by the emperor to attend my embassy, and who remained with me from the moment of my landing in China, to my departure from Canton. *Van-ta-gin* is a man of good understanding, and of great bodily strength. Being an excellent soldier, he has raised himself from an inferior station to the rank of *Foo-zien*, or the third military degree, and to the florished red coral button, which is the second class or order of precedence in the state. In consequence of having received three wounds in the service, he has besides been honored with a peacock's feather, which is worn pendent from the back of his cap, and is a distinction solely appropriated to the army.

There are, in time of peace, 1,800,000 troops within the great wall; that is to say, 1,000,000 of infantry, and 800,000

cavalry ; but in time of war, considerable detachments from them are sent abroad, or beyond the great wall.

The Tartar troops, properly so called, are mostly stationed in Tartary beyond the great wall, attached to the banners under the command of their respective chiefs, and upon quite a different footing from the 1,800,000 regular Chinese troops above mentioned ; but a vast number of these latter are Tartars, who have a higher pay than their Chinese fellow soldiers ; and the principal officers of confidence in the army are Tartars also.

The soldiers are all volunteers, and none are received into the service but such as are expert, healthy, strong, and sightly. Beside their ordinary pay, the emperor makes them certain presents upon particular occasions, such as when they marry, when they have male children born, and when their parents die ; when they themselves die, their families are entitled to a gift of consolation. Thus, then, the condition of a soldier in China is by no means an undesirable one ; and when a man is once enrolled in the military, he is generally looked upon as well provided for.

The allowances are as follow :

A Chinese horseman has three ounces and three-tenths of silver (at 6*s.* 8*d.* each) and fifteen measures of rice per month.

A Tartar horseman in the Chinese army has seven ounces and twenty measures of rice per month.

A Chinese foot soldier (in whose rank are included the artillery, pioneers, and all who do not serve on horseback) has one ounce and six-tenths of silver, and ten measures of rice per month.

A Tartar foot soldier in the Chinese army has two ounces and six-tenths, and ten measures of rice per month.

The emperor furnishes the arms and accoutrements, and the upper garment, which, for the infantry, is commonly of a dark blue cotton stuff, bound with a red galloon, coarse, clumsy, and inconvenient for active service. The horsemen and the sword and target men are differently clothed, some in yellow, some in white : the particular reason of which distinctions I know not, but I conclude it to be of no moment. The cavalry carry no pistols, and are only armed with swords, and bows and arrows.

To every division is a certain proportion of match-lockers, archers, sword and target men, and cavalry. To every two hundred men is an imperial ensign or standard ; but at a parade, every tenth man carries a showy triangular pennon of red, blue, green, or yellow taffety, I presume according to the fancy of the commanding officer.

It is pretended that in the arsenal of every province there are five hundred fire-locks * in store. All the other arms are match-locks, bows and arrows, and swords and bucklers.

* Why do not the Chinese use fire-locks instead of match-locks ? *Van-ta-gin* answered the question by saying, that the flints were apt to miss fire, but that the

Of eighty thousand Chinese troops employed in the last expedition to Thibet, only thirty thousand had fire-arms and those all match-locks.

A match lock in China costs $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounce or taël of silver.

A sword - - - $\frac{1}{2}$ an ounce.

A bow - - - $3\frac{6}{10}$ ounces.

A sheaf of arrows - - $3\frac{6}{10}$ ounces.

An uniform - - - 4 ounces.

In every walled town there is a garrison proportionate to its size for the security of the revenue, the magazines of provisions and the prisoners, whether debtors or criminals, lodged in the gaols there. It is pretended that in the magazines there are great guns belonging to every town of this description, but I never saw any mounted on the walls or bastions not even at Pekin. The gates are generally very high and consist of several stories, one above the other, with port holes that are shut with doors, on the outside of which are painted the representations of cannons which at a distance look somewhat like the sham ports of our men of war; but if real cannon were mounted there they would be of little use as, on account of the lowness of the stories, the smoke would not suffer the people remaining to serve them.

match-locks though slow were always sure. The truth is, I believe, that there are no good flints in China, and the Chinese maxim is to do as well as they possibly can without foreign supplies. I doubt whether the flints, brought from Europe to China, be of the best kind; a change of climate could not extinguish their natural vivacity.

*A List of the Chinese chief Military Officers, their Number,
Ranks, and Salaries.*

Number.	Rank.	Salary of each per Ann.	Total Taëls.
18	The Tou-ton	4,000	72,000
62	The Zung-hing	2,400	148,800
121	The Foo-zien	1,300	157,300
165	The Tchou-zien	800	132,000
373	The Giou-zi	600	223,800
425	The Tou-tze	400	170,000
825	The Sciou-foo	320	264,000
1,680	The Zien-zun	160	268,000
3,622	The Pa-zun	130	470,870
44	Commissaries of corn and provisions of the first rank.	320	14,080
330	Commissaries of corn and provisions of the second rank	160	52,800
Total Taëls			1,974,450

*A rough Calculation of the Military
Establishment.*

1,000,000 infantry at two ounces of silver each per month, provisions included	-	-	24,000,0000	
800,000 cavalry at 4 ounces each	-	-	38,400,000	
800,000 horses at 20 ounces each, and annual wear and tear at 10 per cent.	-	-	1,600,000	
Uniforms for 1,800,000 men once a year, at 4 ounces each	-	-	7,200,000	
Yearly wear and tear of arms, accoutrements, contingencies, &c. at 1 ounce per annum	-	-	1,800,000	73,000,000
Total Taëls				74,974,450

N. B. No allowance being made in the above estimate for the expense of artillery, tents, war equipage, nor for vessels of force, boats, &c., I include them in the extraordinaries of the army, which are probably equal to the ordinaries.

Arts and Sciences.

THE Chinese possess great skill in many branches of the arts, particularly in the manufacture of silk stuffs, and of certain kinds of cotton cloth. They excel in the secrets of dyeing and fixing their colors, in the process also of grinding and preparing their pigments for limning, in composing and laying on varnishes, and in neatness of joining and cabinet-work; but what they are supposed to understand, in a very superior degree, is the pottery, or art of molding clay or earth to every purpose of which it is capable, and of shaping, glazing, coloring, and hardening it as they please. Hence the beauty and variety of their porcelaine, the smoothness and brilliancy of their tiles, and the neatness and solidity of their bricks. With regard to the latter, to say nothing of the great wall, I must observe, that we saw some buildings at *Yuen-min-yuen* which, as pieces of brick work, are superior, both in point of materials and workmanship, to Tyreconnel house in the south-west corner of Hanover-square, which is boasted of as the most perfect thing of the sort in England. Whatever they undertake they appear to perform with ease and dexterity. After Parker's two great lustres had been put together by our people from England, and hung up in the great hall of

Yuen-min-yuen, an operation that required considerable time, pains, and intelligency, it being found necessary to remove them to another place, two common Chinese took them down piece by piece in less than half an hour without the smallest assistance or instruction. A Chinese with his rude instrument quickly cut off a slip from the edge of a curved plate of glass, belonging to the dome of the planetarium, which our artists could not effect after repeated attempts with a diamond. This appeared the more extraordinary as the use of glass is not yet familiar to the people, their table utensils being mostly of porcelaine, their mirrors of metal, and their windows of oyster-shell or of paper. They execute all kinds of embroidery and needle-work with admirable elegance; and the commonest articles of their dress, though clumsy and cumbersome in its fashion, are yet sewed and made up with singular precision and contrivance. They can copy an European picture with great exactness; but they appear to be strangers to the principles of perspective in painting, their own original pieces being without any distribution of light and shade. This is the more extraordinary, as from the laying out of their gardens and pleasure-grounds, one would be tempted to imagine that they understood perfectly well the effects of which it is capable of producing.

In respect to science the Chinese are certainly far behind the European world. They have but a very limited knowledge of mathematics and astronomy, although from some of the printed accounts of China, one might be led to imagine that they were well versed in them. A great part

of their astronomy is mere astrological trifling, whose chief end is to point out the proper times for certain ceremonies, upon the strict observance of which the happiness of the empire and of individuals is supposed to depend. Their affectation of the science of astronomy or astrology (for they have but one word in their language to express both) induced them at a very remote period to establish a mathematical college or tribunal, the duty of which is to prepare and furnish to the nation an annual calendar, somewhat like our *Poor Robin's Almanack*, with lists of all the lucky and unlucky days of the year, predictions of the weather, directions for sowing and reaping, &c. &c. This branch is entirely confided to and conducted by the Chinese doctors, who are chosen for the purpose from among the most celebrated philomaths of the nation: but the real astronomical parts (the calculation of eclipses, the phases of the moon, the conjunction of the planets, &c.) are at present committed to the charge of three European missionaries, namely, Gouvea the bishop of Pekin, his secretary, and Padre Antonio, all of them Portuguese, but none of them eminently qualified for the business. The Chinese could not venture to depend on the calculations of their own people, as they are known to be never quite accurate, and to be often, indeed generally, very erroneous. They have however a tolerable idea of the circles of the sphere, of the annual and diurnal motions and the common phenomena, but are entirely strangers to the true principles of physical astronomy. The first introduction of Europeans into the mathematical tribunal is said to have arisen from a circumstance which in itself is alone sufficient proof of the gross ignorance of the Chinese in astronomical matters. Their

computation of time being solely lunar soon became necessarily erroneous from their defect in the knowledge of the irregularities of the moon's motion ; and the errors resulting from their ignorance in this respect accumulated to such a degree that a palpable change of seasons became perceptible ; in order therefore to correct this error in their calendar they added or threw out a month in certain years where it appeared to be necessary to keep the seasons in their proper places. These intercalations were made however without any system, and consequently liable to gross mistake and growing error. One of the European missionaries in 1670 undertook to explain to the court the nature of the mistakes committed by the tribunal of mathematics, and to convince them that, in that very year, they had improperly inserted an intercalary month, when it ought only to have been considered as a common year of twelve lunar months. As the Chinese are not very nice in their calculations, the Europeans have not had much difficulty, since that time, in keeping their calendar pretty near the truth. From this accident the missionaries derived many advantages, and began to acquire some consideration at court. To what height their attainments in science may have reached I know not ; but we have good reason to think, that their successors of the present day have not soared many degrees above the Chinese ; for, according to their own confession to Mr. Barrow, they take very little pains in calculating the eclipses on mathematical principles, but chiefly content themselves with reducing them, as given in the Paris almanacs, from the meridian of that capital to the meridian of Pekin. They expressed much uneasiness and apprehension that the subversion in France would prevent the *Connois-*

sances des Temps from being regularly transmitted to them as formerly; and were therefore highly gratified by our furnishing them with the latest of our printed nautical almanacks, and a manuscript supplement calculated for a few years to come. With regard to geometry, some few of the Chinese, attached to the board of astronomy, are acquainted with some of the most common and useful propositions: but whether they were known in the country, previous to the arrival of the missionaries, I cannot ascertain. Some of them are said likewise to have a slight knowledge of plain trigonometry, but are totally ignorant of spherical. A table of logarithms has been published in the Chinese character: but this admirable assistant to arithmetical calculations was introduced by the Jesuits in the reign of *Cang-shee*. The operations of algebra are wholly unknown among the Chinese. Gouvea, the present Portuguese bishop of Pekin, who belongs to the tribunal of mathematics, said that it had hitherto been found impossible to render this branch of mathematics intelligible to them, because their language did not admit of an alphabet; but his reverence did not seem perfectly to understand the subject himself; for algebraical quantities may certainly be represented by any mark or character, as well as by the letters of an European alphabet. The truth indeed is, that the present missionaries are very little conversant in algebra, or the higher parts of the mathematics, and but poor proficient in any other branch of science. Some of those, who were patronized by the emperor *Cang-shee*, about fourscore years ago, were men of considerable knowledge, and of indefatigable industry; they attempted to introduce experimental philosophy into China,

and from the accounts given by them of the taste of the court, and of the avidity with which their lessons and exhibitions were received, we were induced to provide and carry with us an expensive apparatus of different kinds, and of the latest inventions; but we had very little occasion to make use of them, for almost every thing of this nature, that had been taught by the Jesuits, seemed to be either entirely forgotten or considered of no value. Neither *Kien-Lung* himself nor those about him appeared to have any curiosity in these matters; it is besides the policy of the present government to discourage all novelties, and to prevent their subjects, as much as possible, from entertaining a higher opinion of foreigners than of themselves. Doctor Dinwiddie gave a few lectures and exhibited some experiments at Canton to the English factory, which were constantly attended by the principal Chinese merchants, who seemed highly delighted with them, and showed the strongest desire of farther instruction. Had Dinwiddie remained at Canton, and continued his courses, I dare say he might have soon realized a very considerable sum of money from his Chinese pupils alone. But the Mandarines in Peking manifested very little disposition of this kind; none of them discovered the slightest notion of the physical properties of bodies, the pressure of fluids, the principles of optics, perspective, electricity, &c. although several of them had seen air-pumps, electrical machines, telescopes, prisms, magic-lanterns, and show-boxes. Nevertheless it was observed that most of the great men, who went to see the globes, the planetarium, the barometers, and pendulums put up at *Yuen-min-yuen*, affected to view them with careless indifference, as if such things were

quite common and familiar to them, and the use of them well understood. They could not however conceal their sense of the beauty and elegance of our Derby porcelaine, when they saw the ornamental vases belonging to Vulliamy's clocks. Three young princes, sons of the emperor's eleventh son, frequently visited our artists whilst engaged at *Yuen-min-yuen*, and expressed great admiration of the workmanship and appearance of the globes, clocks, and orrery, but candidly owned that they did not comprehend the purposes of them. Though the father of these princes is the patron or inspector of the college of mathematics, it is probable he does not hold the elements taught there in very high estimation, as his children were not instructed in them, their education being solely confined to the acquirement of the Chinese and Mantchoo languages, the study of their ceremonies or ethics, and of the history of their own empire.

The Chinese bridges are generally of a light and elegant appearance, but I presume of a slight construction, for there are very few of them over which wheel-carriages are allowed to pass. The elliptical arch is unknown to them as it was to the ancient Grecks and Romans, but they have variety of what are usually called Gothic arches. Instead of a key-stone, in the form of a truncated wedge as with us, the crown of their semi-circular arch is usually a curved stone segment of a considerable span, from whence it may be presumed that their geometrical skill is not very great in the construction of bridges.

It sometimes happens that men by mere dint of natural parts, without the advantage of education (such, for example, as Arkwright and Brindley) will hit upon methods of accomplishing great undertakings, where the most plausible theories have been found insufficient or inapplicable to the purpose; but this can rarely happen except in a country like Europe, where the general effect of the mechanical powers is familiar to the vulgar, from the daily observance of the application of some one or other of such powers. Thus every common laborer will have recourse to a pulley, a lever, a tooth and pinion wheel, because he has seen them perform their functions a thousand times, and although he has no just idea of their exact powers, yet, by repeated trials, he is sure of succeeding in his object; but in a country like China, where the sciences, which probably first pointed out those artificial powers, are little known and little cultivated, difficulties where they occur are usually surmounted by the increase and bodily exertions of numbers. Perhaps, indeed, it may not be refining too much to suppose, that the Chinese neglect of science as applicable to practice is the result of reflexion, and that it is true wisdom in the government to discountenance the general use of the mechanical powers, employing such artificial aid only where it is absolutely unavoidable, because the existence of so many millions of the people depends chiefly upon their manual labor. Most of the things which the Chinese know they seem to have invented themselves, to have applied them solely to the purpose wanted, and to have never thought of improving or extending them farther. They know so far as

that natural bodily force may be assisted by means of the single pulley and the lever. The first we observed at *Ta-cou* in the transshipping of our packages from the sea-junks into the river ones, for which operation they employed three or four single pullies each with its separate *fall* or rope to each of the packages. These pullies were made fast to a horizontal rope stretched between the masts, and four or five men applied their strength to each rope. So far they have proceeded in this contrivance, but seemingly no farther, because probably the immense population of the country can at all times supply any number of hands that may be required; and it may also be an object to them rather to gain in point of time than in power, otherwise having already employed the single pulley, the double one, it might be supposed, would easily have occurred to them. For raising the anchors of the large sea-junks that make distant voyages, they have a machine or kind of windlass, to which several levers are fixed, and which, instead of being stopped by palls, is stopped by a wedge inserted between the rollers and the deck. A machine of the same kind placed vertically, is said to be used for drawing their vessels up a glacis from the lower level of a canal to an upper one; but of this singular method of overcoming inequalities of surface in inland navigation, without the use of locks and sluices, I am not qualified to give a proper account, as nothing of the sort occurred in the course of our passage, but it is often practised in several other parts of the country. There are indeed no undertakings of utility and invention for which the Chinese are more celebrated than the numberless communications by water through the interior of their vast empire. These have excited general admiration among foreigners. As a con-

considerable part our journey from Peking to *Hang-tchoo-foo*, was upon what is usually called the grand or imperial canal, I am enabled to give some account of it. This great work was executed for the purpose of laying open to each other the northern and southern provinces of the empire. It is more properly an improved river than an entirely artificial canal, according to our general acceptance of the term, for it has a descent almost in every part, and generally runs with considerable velocity. Although it is evident that the projectors were very little, if at all, acquainted with the principles of levelling, they possessed sufficient sagacity to avail themselves of all the natural advantages resulting from the ground over which the water was to be conveyed. If we turn our attention to that particular part of the canal which lies between the *Eu-ho* and the *Hoang-ho*, and which effects the communication of these two rivers, a tolerable idea may be formed of the extent of Chinese knowledge and contrivance in enterprises of this nature. The direct distance of the *Eu-ho* to the *Hoang-ho*, where the canal unites them, may be about two hundred miles. The beds of these two rivers are pretty nearly on the same level, but the interjacent country rises from each with an imperceptible ascent and is highest about midway. The Chinese had no instrument or other means of art to ascertain this point of elevation, but nature seems to have indicated it to them by the course of the river, which, rising in *Chan-tong* to the eastward, and running westward in the intermediate space between the *Eu-ho* and *Hoang-ho*, is obstructed in its passage, and then divides into two branches, one of which takes a northern course and falls into the *Eu-ho*, the other pursues a southern route and descends into the *Hoang-ho*. The northern stream seems

to have been generally traced according to all its windings, the bed of it enlarged, and formed with an uniform descent, and its navigation improved by flood-gates thrown across at certain distances, sometimes of two, three, or more miles asunder, in order to prevent too great or too sudden a loss of water. These flood-gates are no more than a few loose planks, sliding between two grooves, cut in the stone piers or abutments, which project on each side from the banks of the canal, and approach so near as to leave in the middle only a sufficient space for the largest junks or vessels to pass through. A few miles before the northern branch joins the *Eu-ho*, instead of following, as formerly, the natural meanders of the stream, it is carried straight forward in one direction, by a deep cut of forty feet through a partial elevation of the surface of the ground. The task was not difficult, as the soil is a mixture of light sand and clay, entirely free from rocks or any sort of stone. But the southern branch required more management and address, as its progress was to be directed over a great extent of swampy grounds and lakes, and from thence through an ascending country to the *Huang-ho*. On approaching this morass, they were obliged to cut very deep below the surface of the ground, for the purpose of giving the water a velocity sufficient to force itself between two high banks raised above the inundated country with incredible labor and expense. In one place it traverses a vast lake, whose surface is far below its own, and there its banks are rivetted with enormous blocks of marble, clasped together at the top with iron; and lest the body of water in the canal should prove too strong for the resistance of the banks, they are intersected with sluices at certain distances, through which

the superfluous water passes into deep ditches or hollows formed on each side in the middle of the banks themselves. The surface of the water let into these ditches or hollows being kept at a mean height between the surfaces of the canal and the lake or inundation, the pressure of the body of water is diminished by one half, and the danger of disruption considerably removed. The canal then proceeds through a rising country, being often thirty and forty feet below the surface of the ground, and falls into the *Hoang-ho* with a current of two to three miles per hour.

From the above account it may be inferred, that the Chinese in flat or nearly flat countries are chiefly directed by the apparent course of the natural streams, follow it as nearly as possible, without regarding the labor or expense attending such a system; and when they come to a difficulty not easily surmounted by their other means, they have recourse to a *glacis*, up and down which the vessels are passed between two canals of different levels *.

* Note. Since writing the above, I have received the following note from Dr. Dinwiddie, who having separated from me at *Han-chou-fou* in order to proceed to *Cheu-san*, for the purpose of embarking on the *Hindustan* for Canton, had an opportunity of examining more at leisure, not only the common canals, but also the others whose communication is preserved by means of a *glacis*.

" The flood-gates in the canals of China are preferable to English locks, in every situation, where the canal is nearly level, and are constructed at a quarter of the expense.

" The inclined plane down which the boats are launched and up which they are drawn is a mode superior to our practice, for besides their being cheaper they are much more expeditious. The power employed consists of two windlasses, placed opposite to each other on the banks or abutments of the canal, the axis perpendicular, the gudgeons of the lower end supported on a stone and the

The Chinese have an excellent method of carrying heavy packages, by dividing the burden pretty equally among the bearers. This is effected by applying two long poles parallelwise to the object of conveyance, and by crossing these at their extremities with two others. Eight men are thus admitted to an equal participation of the weight. By lengthening the first poles with four others, and by applying to their extremities two transverse ones as before, sixteen men may be engaged together in this machinery, and so on to a greater number; but I do not recollect to have seen more than thirty-two men employed at once in the carrying of a single burden. I had already slightly mentioned this method of carrying packages in my Journal of the 21st August 1793.

As it is generally supposed that the art of printing is of great antiquity among the Chinese, I must not pass it by without some notice. Their printing, such as I saw, is merely the impression of a wooden cut, or rather perhaps from an embossing or carving in *alto rilievo* upon a flat board or tablet, which when wetted with ink and impressed by the paper, delivers a reversed copy of itself. From the size of the page, which is incapable of decomposition, from the necessary accuracy of the process, and the tediousness of the execution, it would seem that new publications are not very frequent, and that knowledge is not so rapidly disseminated in China

“ upper end turning between two stones, sustained in an horizontal position on
“ four upright stones. Each windlass has four bars which are manned with
“ twelve to sixteen persons. The time employed in one instance observed was
“ two minutes and a half, and in another about three.”

as in England by reviews, magazines, and such other periodical oracles of taste and literature.

Du Halde and Grosier tell us that the Chinese have moveable types made of wood, not of cast-metal as with us, but that they use them only for the corrections and changes in the Peking Court Register, or list of public officers, which is renewed every three months. In this case, however, I suspect that they have no letter fount, but that they cut away the old characters or names that are to be altered, and fill up the space by gluing or otherwise fastening the new ones upon it. The weekly gazettes, published in most of the great cities of the empire, are, I believe, struck off in their common method of block-printing.

Whether printing as practised by us be an original European invention, or whether the first hint of it was received by way of Tartary from China, I will not presume to determine, but it is certain that the art was not known in Europe till one hundred and fifty years after Marco Polo's return from China. As he did not impart the discovery I conclude he was ignorant of it, and that such books as he may have seen there, he mistook for manuscripts, and, indeed, to the eye of a stranger they have much of that appearance.

The structure of the Chinese language, which, it is said, consists of eighty thousand words or characters, each word however originally formed, being a distinct, indivisible hieroglyphic or representation of an idea, is such as to render the use of immoveable types totally inapplicable to

Chinese printing; for as the Chinese have no alphabet of letters, or elements of composition as we have, it would be necessary for them (instead of a fount of twenty-four divisions which are sufficient for languages like ours) to have a fount of eighty thousand divisions for theirs, or a division for every separate character, a project impossible to be reduced to practice.

The skill of the Chinese in medicine, surgery, and chemistry is certainly very limited, notwithstanding what we have read in many authors of their proficiency in those arts.

The excellent quality of the China silk, and the beauty of the stuffs, which are manufactured with it, have claimed the admiration of the world from the earliest ages. The raw material itself is, I understand, superior to any of the same kind of any other country; but I have been assured that the fabrics of Lyons and Spitalfields are sometimes even superior to those of Nankin. Of this I cannot pretend to judge; but admitting that the Chinese can weave the best silks in the world, it is no less true that they also make the worst, for they suffer nothing to be lost; the flosses, combings, refuse, &c. are all carefully saved and worked into some useful texture or other, such as nettings, curtains, gauzes, girdles, &c. All that I could learn relative to the silk, silk-worms, and mulberry-trees of China is contained in my answers to the Honorable East India Company's queries on these subjects; but I am concerned to say, that they are not very satisfactory, for I found it impossible to obtain all the information I wanted.

With regard to the agriculture of the Chinese, who are certainly most admirable husbandmen, such observations and remarks as I had occasion to make upon the subject, during the course of my travels, being interspersed through my journal, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

Having given an extensive description of the emperor's gardens at Gehol, in my account of that place, I have the less to add upon Chinese scenography, or art of laying out pleasure-grounds, upon which they value themselves so highly, as they do indeed upon every thing else that affords them the slightest pretension. Whether our style of gardening was really copied from the Chinese, or originated with ourselves, I leave for vanity to assert, and idleness to discuss. A discovery, which is the result of good sense and reflection, may equally occur to the most distant nations without either borrowing from the other. There is certainly a great analogy between our gardening and the Chinese; but our excellence seems to be rather in improving nature, theirs to conquer her, and yet produce the same effect. It is indifferent to a Chinese where he makes his garden, whether on a spot favoured or abandoned by the rural deities. If the latter, he invites them or compels them to return. His point is to change every thing from what he found it; to explode the old fashion of the creation, and introduce novelty in every corner. If there be a waste, he adorns it with trees; if a dry desert, he waters it with a river or floats it with a lake. If there be a smooth flat, he varies it with all possible conversions. He undulates the surface, he raises it in hills, scoops it into vallies, and roughens it with rocks. He softens

asperities, brings amenity into the wilderness, or animates the tameness of an expanse by accompanying it with the majesty of a forest. Deceptions and eye-traps the Chinese are not unacquainted with, but they use them very sparingly. I observed no artificial ruins, caves or hermitages. Though the sublime predominates in its proper station, you are insensibly led to contemplate it, not startled by its sudden intrusion; for in the plan cheerfulness is the principal feature, and lights up the face of the scene. To enliven it still more the aid of architecture is invited. All the buildings are perfect of their kind, either elegantly simple or highly decorated according to the effect that is intended to arise, erected at suitable distances and judiciously contrasted, never crowded together in confusion, nor affectedly confronted, and staring at each other without meaning. Proper edifices in proper places is the stile which they admire. The summer-houses, the pavilion, the pagoda, have all their respective situations, which *they* distinguish and improve, but which any other structures would injure or deform. The only things disagreeable to my eye are the large porcelain figures of lions, tigers, dragons, &c. and the rough-hewn steps and huge masses of rock-work which they seem studious of introducing near many of their houses and palaces. Considering their general good taste in the other points I was much surprised at this, and could only account for it by the expense and the difficulty of bringing together such incongruities; for it is a common effect of enormous riches to push every thing they can procure to bombast and extravagance, which are the death of taste. In other countries, however, as well as in China, I have seen some of the most boasted seats, either outgrowing

their beauty from a plethora of their owner's wealth, or becoming capricious or hypochondriacal by a quackish application of it. A few fine places even in England might be pointed out that are laboring under these disorders; not to mention some celebrated houses where twisted stair-cases, window-glass cupolas, and embroidered chimney pieces convey nothing to us but the whims and dreams of sickly fancy, without an atom of grandeur, taste, or propriety.

The architecture of the Chinese is of a peculiar stile, totally unlike any other, irreducible to our rules, but perfectly consistent with its own. It has certain principles from which it never deviates; and although, when examined, according to ours, it sins against the ideas we have imbibed of distribution, composition, and proportions, yet, upon the whole, it often produces a most pleasing effect; as we sometimes see a person without a single good feature in his face, have nevertheless a very agreeable countenance.

Navigation.

IN my journal of the 11th of August 1793, I gave some account of the junks and shipping employed by the Chinese, and expressed my astonishment at their obstinacy in not imitating the ingenuity and dexterity of Europeans in the built and manœuvre of their vessels, after having had such striking examples before their eyes for these two hundred and fifty years past; but I must now, in a great measure, retract my censures upon this point, as from what I have since observed in the course of my several voyages on the rivers and canals

of China, I confess that I believe the yachts and other craft, usually employed upon them, for the conveyance of passengers and merchandize, and the Chinese boatmen's manner of conducting and managing them, are perfectly well calculated for the purposes intended, and probably superior to any other that we in our vanity might advise them to adopt.

With regard to vessels of a different kind for more distant voyages to Batavia, Manilla, Japan, or Cochin-China, I am informed that the Chinese of Canton, who have had frequent opportunities of seeing our ships there, are by no means insensible of the advantage they possess over their own; and that a principal merchant there, some time since, had ordered a large vessel to be constructed according to an English model: but the *Hou-poo* being apprized of it, not only forced him to relinquish his project, but made him pay a considerable fine for his delinquency, in presuming to depart from the ancient established modes of the empire which, according to his notions, must be wiser and better than those of the barbarous nations which came from Europe to trade there. It is, indeed, as I have before remarked, the prevailing system of the Tartar government to impress the people with an idea of their own sufficiency, and to undervalue in their eyes, as much as possible, the superior invention of foreign nations; but their vigilance, in this respect, and the pains they take for the purpose, evidently betray the conscious fears and jealousy which they entertain of their subjects' taste for novelty, and their sagacity in discovering and wishing to adopt the various articles of European ingenuity for use, convenience, and luxury, in preference to their

own clumsy old-fashioned contrivances. I am assured, for instance, that several smart young Chinese at Canton are in the habit of wearing breeches and stockings *à l'Angloise* in their houses, and when they come abroad cover them over with their usual Chinese accoutrements. No precaution can stand before necessity ; whatever they want from us they must have, and every day they will want more ; and elude all means of prevention in order to procure them. Cotton, opium, watches, broad cloth, and tin they cannot do without, and I have little doubt that in a short time we shall have almost a monopoly of those supplies to them.

But to return from this digression to the subject of Chinese navigation. It is a very singular circumstance that, though the Chinese appear to be so ignorant of that art, and have neither charts of their coasts or seas to direct them, nor forestaff, quadrant or other instrument for taking the sun's altitude, yet they have for many ages past been acquainted with the use of the mariner's compass ; they even pretend that it was known to them before the time of Confucius. Be that as it may, the best writers agree that it was not known to us in Europe till the latter end of the 13th century, after the conquest of China by the Mongul Tartars ; but whether communicated by Marco Polo on his return from China, or by some other adventurer, remains undecided.

Whoever it was that originally introduced the mariner's compass as now used of thirty-two points, would appear to have had more practical than scientific knowledge, as long before the discovery of the magnetic needle in Europe, philo-

sophers of all nations had agreed to divide the circle into three hundred and sixty equal parts or degrees. One reason probably of the general adoption and continuance of this number, is the convenience of its being divisible into integral parts by so many different numbers; the points of our mariner's compass, however, happen not to be among these numbers, for 360 divided by 32 give $11\frac{1}{4}$, so that except the four cardinal points and their four bisecting points, all the others, when converted into degrees, are involved with fractions; a circumstance of some inconvenience at first, although now immaterial to seamen, who have tables for every minute of a degree ready calculated to their hands. Considered in this point of view, the Chinese, without any pretensions to science, and without a repeated bisection of 4, 8, 16, and 32, as in the European compass, have fallen upon a more convenient division of the card of their compass than that which we have adopted. Theirs is quartered by the four cardinal points in the same manner as ours, and each of these is subdivided into 6 points, making 24 points in the whole card, so that every point contains 15 degrees, or the 24th part of 360.

Language.

WITHOUT presuming to decide upon the merits or demerits of a language, which I have so little acquaintance with, I shall however set down that little which I have. It appears to me to be an universal character for this part of the world, as the Japanese, the Cochin-Chinese, the people of Pulo Condore, &c. though they could not understand the language of our Chinese interpreters when spoken to them,

yet perfectly comprehended whatever they wrote, in the same manner as all the musicians in Europe, of every different country, understand equally well the musical scale, and read written music, whether Italian, German, English, or of any other school; and as all nations in Europe equally understand the Arabic numerals, and the various signs used by astronomers, mathematicians, chymists, &c. If it be true, to the extent it is said to be, that the Chinese language consists of as great a diversity of characters, as that scarcely any one man is capable of learning them all, it is, no doubt, a very great defect: let us, however, consider, for a moment, how few there are who really understand the meaning of every word that occurs in the lexicon of our own language (the English.) To him who does not, the word not understood is exactly the same, as an unknown or unlearned character in the Chinese language to a Chinese.

From the progression of science, within these two hundred years, I suppose there may be nearly a fourth more words in the English language at present than had been received in Queen Elizabeth's time; and if the range of our knowledge enlarges, the number of words to express our knowledge must be enlarged also. In the actual state of our language, I believe there are very few men not capable of acquiring a thorough acquaintance with every word of it, and each word is certainly a *character*, being only a different combination of letters from any other word, and expressing an idea, just as each Chinese *character* is a different combination of marks or strokes; but each expressing an idea. Now, I imagine it very possible to find several individuals in Europe, particu-

larly in Germany, who are perfect masters of Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German. Perhaps, the various vocables of these eight languages put together may turn out to be not fewer than all the Chinese characters, which have been so much censured on account of their number and variety. I dare say that Sir William Jones, now one of the judges in Bengal, knows several languages more than I have enumerated, consequently if he had been born a Chinese, and applied himself solely as the Chinese do to the study of the Chinese language, he would have very easily mastered every character and combination which it consists of. The Chinese, by studying their own language only, are likely to know it well, and every Chinese studies it more or less; and as to the great difficulty of learning it, for which we find fault with it, I am persuaded that it is much exaggerated; for I never heard it complained of by the Chinese themselves, and, among them, I observe that every body, even the meanest people, can write it sufficiently for their business, and the common purposes of life.

Sir George Staunton's son, a boy of twelve years old, during our passage from England learned, in a few broken lessons from a very cross master and by his own attention, not only such a *copia verborum* and phraseology as enabled him to make himself understood, and to understand others when he arrived in China; but acquired such a facility in writing the Chinese character, that he copied all our diplomatic papers for the Chinese government (the Chinese writers

being afraid of their hands being known) in so neat and so expeditious a manner as to occasion great astonishment among them. And here, in confirmation of what I have said above, let me observe, that this young gentleman possesses already five languages, English, Latin, Greek, French, and Chinese, a thing scarcely to be paralleled at so early an age.

The Chinese language seems however to have one material defect. It is liable to be equivocal, and appears to depend, in a great measure, upon the tone or pronunciation of the words used by the speakers; for I took notice that in their conversation together they were often subject to mistake one another, and to require frequent explanations. The same word as written having different significations, according as it is spoken with a grave or with an acute accent.

Trade and Commerce.

For near forty years past our knowledge of the commerce of China has been confined to Canton. The Europeans frequenting that port, being chiefly engaged in the mere business of buying and selling on the spot, wanted leisure or curiosity to make inquiries beyond the sphere of their immediate and most interesting concerns; and the Chinese merchants, whether from ignorance or policy, were little qualified or disposed to give them very accurate information. It is however certain that a considerable intercourse, though perhaps less than formerly, is still maintained between China and Japan, the Philippine islands, the isles of Sunda, and

the countries of Corea and Cochin-China. From Canton to *Ten-chou-fou*, at the entrance of the gulph of *Pe-tche-li* (to say nothing of the country within the gulph itself) is an extent of coast of near two thousand miles, indented with innumerable harbours, many of them capable of admitting the largest European ships, and all of them safe and sufficiently deep for the vessels of the country. Every creek or haven has a town or city upon it; the inhabitants, who abound beyond credibility, are mostly of a trafficking mercantile cast, and a great part of them, from their necessary employment in the fishery, which supplies them with a principal article of their subsistence, are accustomed to the sea and to the management of shipping; but, according to the present regulations of the empire, all trade with any of these places is absolutely interdicted to Europeans; and Canton is the only port which they are allowed to frequent. I shall therefore, under the present head, turn my chief attention to the commerce carried on at Canton, and particularly to those branches of it which are most interesting to Great Britain and her dependencies in India.

A few years ago the exports to China on the Company's account in English goods, and on English bottoms, scarcely exceeded one hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, and the private trade might perhaps be as much more. The balance was paid in silver; but, since the commutation act, the exports have been gradually rising, and have not yet, I am persuaded, reached their highest point. There were imported into Canton from England, during the last season (1793), in sixteen Company's ships, to the amount of above

2,911,000 taëls, or about 970,333*l.* sterling*, in lead, tin, woollens, together with furs and other articles of private trade. The order for woollens † only in the present year (1794) is above 250,000*l.* higher than that of the former, so that this single article of woollens has grown to be between 700,000*l.* and 800,000*l.* and will probably increase. Thus then our exports from England to China alone will be 1,200,000*l.* at least, or six times as much as they were a dozen years ago.

The value of exports from China to England in eighteen Company's ships this season is above 4,583,326 taëls, or 1,527,775*l.* prime cost ‡, which when sold will certainly produce above 3,000,000*l.* sterling.

As I have endeavored to be very moderate in the above estimate, I have confined myself solely to the trade carried on in the Company's ships, making no allowance for any im-

Taëls.		£.	
* 2,335,000	-	778,333	Company's trade
576,000	-	192,000	Private trade
<u>2,911,000 Taëls.</u>		<u>£ 970,333</u>	

† The wearing of broad-cloth at court in the emperor's presence has been lately permitted, is now universal during the months of March, April, May, September, October, and November, by all who can afford it in the northern provinces, and is pretty common during the cold months in the southern ones.

Taëls.		£.	
‡ 3,969,436	-	1,323,145	Company's trade.
613,890	-	204,630	Private trade.
<u>4,583,326 Taëls.</u>		<u>£ 1,527,775</u>	

ports into China: by the Ostend interlopers under Genoese, Tuscan, Prussian, and other foreign colors, which are well known to be the actual property of English traders, and probably laden with a considerable proportion of English goods. But without making any allowance, on such account, I have little doubt that, in a few years, our exports to China from England alone will balance the first cost of our imports to England from China.

To the items of our exports from England, which are now chiefly confined to woollens, tin, lead (exclusive of the private trade, the particulars of which I am not well informed about) I shall here give a list of such articles as, from my own observation, I should think, by the proper management of the Hong merchants at Canton, might grow into general demand at Peking.

Bronze figures.

Agate and blood stone much valued in large pieces—amber.

Green serpentine stone also in high request.

Derbyshire spar for girdle clasps, also cut into various shapes, particularly into small round heads or globes of half an inch to one inch in diameter, to intersperse in the Mandarin's collars of ceremony.

Gill's swords plain, and also handsomely mounted.*

Fowling pieces with good agate flints.

* Arms are not permitted to be brought to China for sale, without particular permission; but from the admiration expressed of ours, I should imagine the Hong merchants could obtain leave for a few to be imported; and as they came to be better known, the prohibition would probably be entirely taken off.

Coarse linen.

Writing paper.

Saddles of the Chinese fashion.

Waistcoats and stockings of fine hosiery.

Spring garters.

Vigonia cloth.

Whips with lashes fixed to wooden handles.

Knives, forks, and spoons, one of each in one small case.

Penknives with several blades.

Brushes and combs, scissars, files, and various lesser articles of hardware.

Necklaces and earrings for women.

Plated goods; pocket-books with instruments.

Telescopes, spectacles, prints and pictures.

Nails of all sorts and sizes.

Plate glass, and small looking glasses, convex and concave.

* Some of these articles, I doubt not, already make a part of the private trade; but not being possessed of any very correct information upon that subject, I have thought it best to give as extensive a list as I could, of the articles likely to find a sale in the northern part of China, which is as yet in a great degree a *terra incognita* to most of the merchants of Canton.

I imagine that at Birmingham we can manufacture every thing in iron cheaper than the Chinese can do; I should therefore recommend the making a few experiments accord-

ing to the Chinese patterns. A pair of tailor's sheers made at Canton costs ten pence English, which, I suppose, may be afforded in England for half the price. In truth, if we keep our ground, our trade by prudent management may be gradually enlarged to an immense extent. The demand for our tin *, (now that the Chinese understand its quality, and that their prejudices in favor of the Banca tin, which they had been in the habit of preferring, are worn off,) is likely to increase; at present it is equal to 100,000*l.* sterling *per annum*; and a certain quantity of our lead, not less than twenty to thirty thousand pounds sterling in value, is pretty sure of finding a market at Canton. But there is another article of export to China which, though I observe it is of late almost discontinued, may perhaps be revived; and, if I am not mistaken in my conjectures, may be rendered of considerable importance—I mean copper. Upon this subject I have endeavored to procure the best information in my power, and I shall here insert the result of my inquiries.

White copper or tutanag seems to be composed of red copper, zinc, and a small portion of iron. To prove this the following experiments were made.

* They say our tin does very well in utensils; but they pretend it is not so easily hammered and beat into leaf as the Banca tin. They cannot however distinguish the difference between our leaf tin, and the Banca leaf tin when shown to them. Our tin having the Company's mark upon it, passes all through China without difficulty or examination, which is not the case of the Banca tin, the Chinese having often discovered the latter to be adulterated. Indeed the Company's good faith seems perfectly well established, and our woollens, with the Company's mark, also pass unopened from hand to hand in the way of trade.

Experiment 1st. A quantity of copper ore was divided into two parts, one of these parts being completely roasted was revived *per se*. The produce was common red copper, which proved that the ore originally contained nothing but red copper.

Experiment 2d. The remaining portion of the ore was next completely roasted and revived. It was then fused with — parts of zinc and a small portion of vitriolated iron previously calcined. The result was a mass of white copper, or something so like it as scarcely to be distinguished from it.

These experiments prove that white copper may be made from copper ore, with a proper addition of zinc and *ferrum vitriolatum* calcined. Tutanag in China is supposed to be sheer zinc, and of the finest sort; but this cannot be true, for zinc is a semi-metal, which although it be not readily broken with the hammer, yet cannot be much extended under it, whereas the tutanag of China has very different properties, and extends easily under the hammer. The consumption of white copper in China is immense. The price at Canton is seldom lower than one hundred dollars per *picul* of 133½ lbs. or about four shillings per pound. Red copper in ingots was sold in London, in July 1792, at one shilling per pound. Would it not then be much better for us (supposing white copper could be made in England for 2s. or 2s. 6d.) to export it to China, instead of attempting to push the red copper, which is considered as a losing article, and is not likely to be rendered a lucrative one; for the Hong

merchants are obliged by government to sell it at a fixed price, and they pretend that they lose fifty *per cent.* upon every pecul of it which they take from us in the way of trade. That they really do lose by it is very probable; for if there were any profit, however small, they would not think it below their attention. The principal use that English red-copper is applied to in China, is the coinage of small money, of which one thousand pieces are equal to a taël, or 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling. The houses are covered with tiles, which are so very cheap, and answer the purpose so well, that our red-copper is not likely to be substituted for roofing; neither do I think that its use can be introduced for many other purposes. The small boilers of the Chinese are commonly of earthenware, and their large ones of cast-iron. Great quantities of tutanag are exported from China to India; our country ships sometimes take near 100,000*l.* worth in the season, so that if we can make it in England, a new and profitable article is added to our exports.

I have said nothing of the fur trade to Canton, although I am inclined to imagine that, if it were solely in the Company's hands (and it, in a good measure, depends upon them that it should be so) it might be rendered of very great value. In the present state of it, the Chinese at Canton purchase furs from us, and from other nations frequenting that port, to the amount of more than 200,000*l. per annum.*

With regard to toys, jewellery, &c. commonly called *Sing-songs*, paints, dyeing-stuffs, &c. it is better to leave them at

large as objects of speculations for private traders, whose habits of industry and individual activity are better calculated than the magnificent system of a great commercial body for a traffic in such articles.

Having now given a sketch of the direct trade between Great Britain and China, it remains to speak of the commerce of our dependencies in India with China, which commerce is of high concern to us, and merits particular attention and regulation. The amount of the legal trade of 1792, imported to Canton in twenty of our country ships, was 1,608,544 taëls *, to which is to be added the value of 473,000 taëls in cotton brought on the Company's ships from Bombay, making together 2,081,544 taëls, or about 693,848*l*. The illegal and contraband trade of opium consists of two thousand five hundred chests, which, at four hundred dollars per chest, will give 250,000*l*. so that the whole imports from Bengal and Bombay to Canton are, not much short of a million sterling, or 943,848*l*. The exports from China in

The principal articles were as follows :

		Pecul.			Taëls.
Cotton	-	-	112,854 at 11 taëls per pecul	-	1,241,394
Tin	-	-	5,261 at 15 ditto	-	78,915
Pepper	-	-	5,567 at 15 ditto	-	83,505
Sandal wood	-	-	8,780 at 20 ditto	-	175,600
Elephants' teeth	-	-	330 at 37 ditto	-	12,210
Bees wax	-	-	564 at 30 ditto	-	16,920
					<hr/>
					Taëls - 1,608,544
Add cotton	-	-	43,000 at 11 by Company's ships	-	473,000
					<hr/>
					Total value Taëls - 2,081,544
					<hr/>

the above mentioned twenty country ships cost at Canton 968,632 taëls *, or 322,877*l*. There appears then a balance of 620,971 *l*. in favor of India in her China trade, and it seems likely to increase, for the cotton of Bombay and the opium of Bengal are now become, in a great measure, necessities in China, the latter having grown into general demand through all the southern provinces, and the former being preferable to silk for common use, as a cheaper and pleasanter wear. Another reason may be given for the great rising demand for India cotton. As the inhabitants every day seem to increase beyond the usual means of subsistence, I suspect they are obliged to convert many of their cotton plantations into provision grounds.

The profits of the Hong merchants upon their foreign trade must be very great, to enable them to bear the expense of the numerous and magnificent presents, which they make

* The articles were as follows :

					Taëls.
Raw silk	-	-	-	-	352,600
Tutanag	-	-	-	-	256,046
Sugar	-	-	-	-	130,490
Sugar-candy	-	-	-	-	107,490
Allum	-	-	-	-	37,516
Wrought silk	-	-	-	-	31,600
China ware	-	-	-	-	30,000
Camphor	-	-	-	-	18,750
Nankin cotton cloth	*	-	-	-	2,750
Quicksilver	-	-	-	-	1,150
Turmeric	-	-	-	-	240

Total value Taëls = 968,632

to the superior Mandarines at Canton, who, in their turn, send a part of these presents to the emperor and his ministers and favorites at Pekin. By what I saw at Gehol and Yuen-min-yuen, and by the reports concerning the things I did not see (particularly in the ladies' apartments, and the European palace, which latter is entirely furnished and enriched with articles from Europe) I am led to believe what I have been assured of, that the emperor possesses to the value of two millions sterling at the least in various toys, jewellery, glass, musical automats, and other figures; instruments of different kinds, microcosms, clocks, watches, &c. &c. all or most of them made in London.

It is generally supposed that the system of administration at Canton has been corrupt and oppressive to a great degree, and it is certain that several of the *Hou-poo*s or treasurers, at their return to Pekin, have been called to a strict account. Some have suffered large confiscations and others a severer punishment; but the distance from the metropolis is so great, the temptations so strong, and the chances of impunity so many, that the faithful discharge of such a duty requires more integrity than is usually to be found here united with power and opportunity. Hence arise the peculations and extortions so much complained of, and many of them, I believe, very justly complained of at Canton. There is one which I am qualified particularly to speak upon. In consideration of Captain Mackintosh having accompanied my embassy, and brought the presents to the emperor on board of his ship, he was assured she should be exempted from all

the emperor's duties payable at the port, where she might take in her cargo. Being disappointed of the goods expected at *Cheu-san*, he proceeded on the *Hindostan* to Canton, and took in there an usual cargo for England; but the privilege that had been promised was not understood by the *Hou-poo* in the same manner that it had been understood by us; for after the accustomed duties for all the ships had been paid by the Hong merchants, of which 30,000 taëls were the *Hindostan's* proportion, the *Hou-poo* repaid into Mr. Browne's hands only 14,000 dollars instead of the whole 30,000 taëls as was expected, saying that so much was the exact amount of the emperor's duties, but not saying nor explaining what became of the remainder. It is however of some advantage to us to have learned from such an authority what the emperor's real duties are, and may be a step to relieve us from the others, which it is probable are for a great part absolute extortions.

The trade of the Dutch, French, Americans, Danes and Swedes with China is so much declined, and so likely, in a few years, to be almost annihilated, that it is the less necessary for me to dwell upon the subject. The Danes and Swedes have, in a great measure, given it up; and will, I believe, send but few more ships to Canton. Many years must elapse before it can revive in France. The Americans, with all their contrivances and industry, are not likely, as I am well informed, to pursue it with much advantage; and as for the Dutch, the affairs of their company in these parts of the world are in so deplorable a condition, that it is scarcely possible to contemplate them without compassion, or to ap-

proach them without shrinking. They afford an awful lesson for our instruction.

The total imports of all these different nations to Canton, in 1792, when summed up together, amount to about 200,000*l.* and their exports from thence to between 600,000*l.* and 700,000*l.* which gives a balance of nearly half a million against them, and what renders it more unfavorable is, that very little of what they bring to China is of their home production.

The trade between China and Russia, which had been long interrupted, is now open again. Mr. Coxe, in his account of it some years since, states it to be much more considerable than I could have imagined. I have not his book with me to refer to; but, as ~~was~~ as I recollect, he computes the value of silks, Nankin cloth, tea, porcelaine, &c. brought over land from China into Russia at several hundred thousand pounds *per annum*. In 1767, when I left St. Petersburg, it was supposed to be very far short of his estimate, and indeed I do not conceive that either the necessities or faculties of Russia could warrant it even at this day. The returns to China are made chiefly in furs, leather and woollen cloth, the latter mostly German with a small quantity of English superfine. In my road to Gehol, I met several camels laden with these woollens; and so ignorant in matters of trade were many of the Chinese that they believed them to be the manufacture of Tartary, just as several English articles, which I saw at Pekin, were supposed to be the production of Canton.

Among the various novelties and projects which the empress of Russia's fertile fancy has imagined, I am somewhat surprised, that the sending a ship or two to Canton never occurred to her.* The magnificent idea of holding, from such a distance, an intercourse with the two extremities of China, and of showing to that empire that it was accessible to her by sea as well as by land, would seem perfectly congenial with her character, and naturally to arise in so ambitious and adventurous a mind.

Having mentioned under the head "Arts and Sciences," that the Chinese excel in the art of dyeing, it may be proper to observe that nevertheless the China Nankin, which from its cheapness, pleasantness, and color is of such general wear in England, is not dyed as is commonly imagined but is fabricated from a native brown cotton wool, which is chiefly cultivated in the provinces of *Kiang-nan* and *Che-kiang*. I am informed, from good authority, that this kind of cotton grows also in the neighborhood of Manilla in the island of Luconia.

As fifty thousand to sixty thousand bales of cotton of four hundred pounds each, worth from ten to twelve taëls per pecul, are annually imported from India to Canton, which is from three to five taëls less than the price of the

* This project was reserved for the emperor Alexander, but the ill treatment which the commanders of the Russian ships experienced at Canton, together with the swindling conduct of the Chinese, will probably prevent a repetition of the experiment.

native cotton of China, I should think it might be worth while for our gentlemen at Bombay and Surat to procure the brown cotton plant from Manilla, if not from China, and cultivate it in India. The Bombay cotton is chiefly used by the Chinese for making what is called the white Nankin, but which is rather of a cream color than of a clear white.

Perhaps it may not be improper to consider here the effects that might possibly follow from cultivating the brown cotton in India, and sending it to England. East India white cotton wool now (1794) sells for ten pence the pound in London, but suppose it to sell for one shilling a pound, which is about one-third cheaper than the average price of West India cotton, this circumstance then, with the reduction in the cost of labor, by the use of our machinery (never likely to be introduced in China) and the dye saved besides, might enable the people of Manchester to afford their Nankins at so low a rate as in a short time entirely to exclude that article of our present import from Canton.

The Chinese have a method of dyeing their cotton wool in scarlet much superior to any with which we are acquainted. It is said they employ some strong astringent vegetable juice for fixing that color, but from what plants it is extracted we are entirely ignorant. The chief excellence of their colors, in general, which we so much admire, arises from their indefatigable care and pains in washing, purifying and grinding them, for many of them are not the produce of China, but imported from Europe.

Before I conclude this article I cannot avoid adding a word or two, as not entirely foreign to the subject. If the China trade of the Dutch, French, Danes, Swedes, Americans, &c. by which the Chinese have hitherto received a considerable balance, should fall to the ground, and our trade continue to improve, as it now seems to promise, that is to say, that the value of exports and imports between England and China should become nearly equal, and the balance between China and India remain still in favor of the latter, may not the Chinese take alarm at so much silver being sent out of their country in discharge of the balance? Also what is likely to become of that silver, when the country ships shall no longer have the resource of remitting the amount of it as formerly by bills upon Europe through the treasuries at Canton? I have been told that some silver has of late been carried away by the country ships from Canton to India, and that the Hong merchants, considering silver as mere merchandize, did not appear sensible of any disadvantage from such a trade; but any conjectures or questions that might occur to me upon these points have been, I dare say, already anticipated and resolved by the honorable East India Company and their servants at Canton.

N O T E.

THESE Papers, which follow under the title of "First and Second Supplement to the Head Trade and Commerce," are a mere *jeu d'esprit*, which occurred to me, in considering the hardships complained of by Europeans in China. They undoubtedly have suffered many and are liable to suffer more under such a government. Let us not, however, exaggerate. The Chinese are by no means wanting in proper notions of justice, though they may often deviate from it in their practice; but, in order to give them fair play, let us suppose the possible case, which, by way of illustration, I have here drawn up, and let us then say, whether a Chinese might not find as much to be surprized at in London, as an Englishman does at Canton *.

First Supplement to the Head "Trade and Commerce."

THE desire of gain is of such quick growth in a commercial country, and of such an encroaching nature, that all the vigilance and exertion of the magistrate are necessary to regulate and circumscribe it. The arts of eluding discovery and defeating detection are so numerous and ingenious, and the mazes of fraud so intricate, that scarcely any patience or industry can master and unravel them. We find ourselves either totally obstructed in our researches, or we

* The case stated in the First Supplement is by no means an ideal one, but strictly founded in fact. J. B.

are lost in a labyrinth, and sometimes devoured by the monster that inhabits it. He, who is impatient to wallow at home in the mire he may contract abroad, will not be very scrupulous or delicate in his means of acquisition, or in the sty where he can batten. In the rage of avaricious hunger he disregards difficulty and danger. He flies from Bombay to Madras, from Pencoolen to Bengal, from China to Pinang; his only inquiry is where the spoil is to be found, and his only care to possess it. He is not deterred by the dread of punishment, and still less by the consciousness of shame. Protection and countenance are to be found in the effrontery and number of the herd. As an oppressor, he will only have followed illustrious examples, he can quote precedents for most of the crimes he may be guilty of, and if precedents were wanting, state policy and state necessity are sometimes admissible pleas in justification of the most atrocious delinquent.

If the resources of a province have been exhausted by the ravages of war, or the rapacity of receivers, the receiver or his friend supplies the means of reproduction, and lends, at an enormous interest, their own money to the very wretches who have been robbed of it. When the harvest is gathered in, I need not say how small a share of it is left for the unfortunate cultivator. His only consolation, if it be one, is that his superiors are little better treated than himself; and that the creditor deals out an equal measure of hardship to the peasant and the prince, to the ryot and the nabob. When their country is devoured, new regions and other strophades must be sought for, to gorge the harpies.

Paul Plunder, George Grasp, Patrick O'Robbery, and Andrew Mac Murder set their heads together and project a money voyage to another country, where although lending money to the natives, even at legal interest, be against law, and consequently must be doubly criminal if at usury, nevertheless, such is the force of habit and the allurements of lucre, they run the risk and prosecute the adventure. They take bonds from the Chinese bearing 18 *per cent.*; for some little time receive regular payments, and hug themselves for their sagacity in discovering these new Indies of enrichment. However, what every one not absolutely blinded by cupidity might expect soon happened. The borrowers were ruined by this exorbitant rate of interest, and became absolutely incapable to fulfil their engagements. The lenders then cry out in all the fury of disappointed voracity, and loudly reprobate, as a fraud, the insolvency of which they themselves were the authors. As indefatigable as insatiable, they pursue their object without remission, and without any consideration whatsoever before them, but the recovery of their losses; they have the audacity to commit the honor of their sovereign in the infamy of their proceedings, and engage his admiral to send an English man of war to enforce their scandalous demands at Canton.

Notwithstanding the illegality and criminality of their claim, the regency of Canton listened to it with attention, and ordered a considerable part of it to be paid out of the emperor's treasury, reserving to themselves the settlement of

the business with the debtors. The Chinese government, however, acted on this occasion with their usual artifice and policy. As they could recover nothing from debtors who they found had been already stripped, they were resolved not to be entirely the dupes of the claimants, and that the emperor should not pay out of his pocket what he had received no value for. As the right of making such regulations in their own ports as they judge fit cannot be well disputed, although it may be complained of, they, in order to reimburse themselves, laid an additional tax upon the foreign trade to Canton, intending it to fall, as indeed it does, chiefly upon the English, whom they considered as the occasion of the trouble and expense they had been at. So that by this adventure of a few usurers from India, not only the English East India Company, but all the other European companies at Canton, are saddled with a new burden on their commerce, which it may be very difficult, if ever possible, to get free from. But this is not all; these money lenders, instead of being satisfied with having got what they had no right to expect, are vociferous for more, and actually importune the minister to make himself the Shylock of their rapacity, and to exact for them all the penalties and forfeitures of the bond.

How far such an interposition may be advisable would perhaps be better judged of, by a perusal of the case of a Chinese creditor applying for justice against an English debtor, which is stated in the annexed petition to the right honorable president of the India board.

The humble Petition of *Tong-foo* and *Bouble-me-quá*, to
 the Colao DUNDAS, President of the Eastern Tribunal,
 &c. &c.

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners are the sons and executors of the late *Si-li-boo* and *Pi-ke-me-po*, who were eminent Hong merchants in the city of Canton in the year 1749, and had very extensive dealings in the way of trade with Peter Pancras and Samuel Smithfield, two English merchants, who sometimes resided at Macao and sometimes at Canton; that the said Pancras and Smithfield having occasion, in the course of their business, to borrow the sum of 40,000 taëls or ounces of silver, your petitioners' fathers *Si-li-boo* and *Pi-ke-me-po* did lend to them the said sum, taking their bond for the same at legal interest, which no edict or statute, Chinese or English, as they believe, prohibited them to do, and which they believe was of eminent service to the credit and fortunes of the said Pancras and Smithfield. That some time afterwards the said Pancras and Smithfield absconded to Bengal, where they died, without having discharged their engagements to their creditors. That the said *Si-li-boo* and *Pi-ke-me-po*, whilst living, and your petitioners since their decease, have repeatedly applied to the chief and committee of English supracargoes at Canton for the payment of the said sum, but without any effect; being told for answer, that the representatives and executors of the said Pancras and Smithfield were the persons solely responsible for these debts, and that such debts could only be recovered by due course of law in England. Your petitioners, being entirely

ignorant of the laws of England, and understanding that it would be very expensive, tedious and difficult for them to institute and prosecute to effect a suit at law in that country, and confiding in your known justice and humanity, humbly pray that you will please to order the representatives or executors of the said Peter Pancras and Samuel Smithfield to pay to your petitioners the above recited sum of 40,000 taëls with legal interest for the same from the year 1749 to the present time, without putting them to the trouble and charge of bringing actions, or filing bills in the royal courts of justice at Westminster, especially as they are informed that the proceedings there are not summary as in China, but so dilatory that your petitioners' whole lives might be spent in solicitation and attendance, before the suit were likely to be determined, and consequently they would be deprived of the privilege of being buried in the tombs of their ancestors, and be exposed to the horrors of having their bones desposited in a foreign land. Your petitioners humbly entreat you will take these circumstances into your consideration, and give the relief prayed for, especially, as his most sublime majesty the resplendent emperor *Kien-long's* liberality and generosity to the English Merchants are notorious to the whole world, inasmuch, that not long since, on a complaint being made to him of certain wrongs supposed to be suffered by them from his subjects, he, instead of referring them to the usual and ordinary forms of justice, by which, according to the laws of the empire, all cases of property ought to be decided, did not hesitate to supersede those forms and laws in their favor, and, by his ~~sole~~ fiat, ordered a great sum of money not less than ——— taëls to be paid to the agents of Paul Plunder,

George Grasp, Peter O'Robbery, and Andrew Mac Murder, merchants of Calcutta and Madras, claiming the same as due to them, by *Chi-quaa*, *Si-quaa*, and some other *Qua-quas* of Canton, although such sums were not legally claimable, the said merchants well knowing that their lending money at any rate to Chinese subjects was not only contrary to an edict of the — year of his majesty, but more particularly contrary to another edict of the — year of his majesty, which prohibits a higher sum than 12 *per cent.* to be received as interest for money lent, whereas the money lent to *Chi-quaa*, *Si-quaa*, &c. by the said Paul Plunder, George Grasp, Patrick O'Robbery, and Andrew Mac Murder, was expressly on the condition of its bearing an interest of 18 *per cent.* a degree of usury not fit to be practised by the subjects of one friendly power towards those of another, and which totally ruined the unfortunate *Chi-quaa*, *Si-quaa*, &c. and all their families, all their property that was left being seized towards the discharge of the debt; and themselves banished into the wilds of Tartary, where they miserably perished.

Such unexampled favor having been shown in this recent instance to the English merchants, by his Imperial Majesty's order, It is humbly hoped your petitioners will meet with a similar attention and relief, and your petitioners will, as in duty bound, for ever pray, &c.

Second Supplement to the Head "Trade and Commerce."

THE hardships suffered by Europeans trading to Canton have been the subject of much complaint, and not without reason in some instances; but in others a few allowances may

be made in favor of the Chinese, considering the vast difference between Asiatic and European manners, and that our customs appear as strange and unaccountable to them as theirs can possibly do to us. They are astonished when they hear of the unguarded intercourse of nations in our part of the world, and can scarcely be made to comprehend the reciprocal advantages that are derived from it.

They say to us, why do you visit a country so often, whose laws you dislike and are disposed to disobey? We do not invite you to come among us; but when you do come, we receive you in the manner prescribed by our government, and whilst you behave well, we behave to you accordingly. Respect our hospitality; but do not pretend to regulate or reform it.

Whether a Chinese going to trade in England is likely to meet with better treatment than an Englishman going to trade in China, may be collected from the annexed petition.

I do not recollect that any Englishman ever suffered such hardships in China, as are stated in this paper. The only case in any degree analogous is that of Mr. Flint, who, about thirty-five years ago, went to *Tien-sing* from Canton, without a passport, and in defiance of the laws, in order to make a complaint against an officer of Canton. The tribunal of justice decided the complaint to be groundless, and punished the complainant by imprisonment for three years, and by banishment from the empire at the expiration of that term.

That Mr. Flint had hard measure I have no doubt, and that false witnesses were brought to condemn him, and were indulgently listened to against a stranger is not much to be wondered at, since even in England, many Englishmen have been sentenced to lose their lives upon equally suspicious evidence. The numbers who were hanged upon the testimony of Berry, Egan, Mac Daniel, &c. I am disposed to think, had as much, if not more, reason to complain of the justice of England, than Mr. Flint had of the justice of China. And how far *Du-pe-quu* has reason to be satisfied with us, let his petition explain.

To the Great Coluo DUNDAS, President of the Eastern Tribunal, &c.

The humble Petition of *Du-pe-quu*, late Merchant and Mariner of Canton, in the Empire of China, but now confined in His Majesty's Prison the King's Bench,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioner sailed in the month of January 1775, from the city of Canton in the empire of China, on board the Junk *Kien-long*, of three hundred and fifty tons burden, more or less, belonging to your said petitioner and certain other merchants, and bound to London, in the river Thames, laden with seven hundred peculs of raw silk, two thousand pieces of Nankin cotton cloth, three hundred chests of tea, and twenty-five crates of porcelaine, or earthenware, all the natural produce or manufacture of the empire of China: That the said *Du-pe-quu*, on his arriving at Graves-

end, was boarded by three officers or Mandarines, who forcibly took possession of his junk, and compelled your petitioner to maintain them with the best of his provisions and liquors whilst they stayed ; that after some time, two of the said officers or Mandarines went away, and the other remained and took upon him, as well as your petitioner could understand, the direction and command of the ship, and brought her up to London-bridge near the Custom-house ; that the same Mandarin repeatedly gave hints to your petitioner, that he expected some reward on account of his trouble, which your petitioner paid to him to a considerable amount, believing the same to be justly and lawfully due to him, and the customary duties of the port.

That your petitioner then was brought to a place called the Long Room, where he gave notice to the chief Mandarin there, that he had come from Canton with a cargo, all the production or manufacture of China, to sell and dispose of in England, in the same manner as English merchants and mariners sell and dispose of their cargoes at Canton, and your petitioner did therefore request a permit to land his goods, he the said *Du-pe-quan* paying the same fees and taxes thereupon, as the other ships coming from Canton are accustomed to pay ; to which the said Mandarin replied that your petitioner's request could not be granted, because, in the first place, your petitioner was a Chinese, and therefore ought to pay more fees and taxes than an Englishman, (although Englishmen at Canton pay no more fees and taxes than Chinese do) ; but even if your petitioner were to consent to pay the said fees and taxes, which he called " aliens' duty,"

the same could not be accepted, nor his goods admitted to an entry, because it was against law and the charter of the East India Company for any person to bring goods from China to England, except the said East India Company, who have an exclusive privilege for that purpose. As your petitioner had already discovered that the Mandarin, who had first boarded your petitioner, had deceived and cheated him, and as he had been also imposed upon by almost every other person, with whom he had any transactions since his arrival in England, he did not believe what the Mandarin of the Long-room said to him, thinking it impossible to be true; because, justice and reason being the same in all civilized countries, he did suppose, that if the Emperor of China admitted all English ships without distinction to trade to Canton, the King of England would not forbid any Chinese ship from trading to London; that therefore your petitioner did proceed, as is the custom of China, to bargain for the sale of his cargo with a person who offered to deal with him for the same. Which person, instead of standing to his agreement, went and informed against your petitioner as if he were a criminal and traitor, having evil designs against the State, upon which he was forcibly seized and dragged to this prison. His ship was also seized, forfeited, and sold with its cargo, and the money paid, he knows not to whom; and your petitioner himself has been prosecuted in the Court of Exchequer, as a rogue and defrauder of the King (although he declares, in the presence of the Tien, he never harbored such intentions), and been condemned to lie in gaol for the remainder of his days in this strange land, without hope of

revisiting his country, or being buried, when he dies, in the family tombs of his ancestors. Your petitioner therefore prays you to take his case into consideration, and give such relief as in your wisdom you shall think fit; for which your petitioner, &c.

CONCLUSION.

BEFORE I set out upon my embassy to China, I perused all the books that had been written about that country, in all the languages I could understand. With every body from whom I had hopes of information I endeavored to converse, and where that could not be done I corresponded with them by letter. Having thus stored up in my mind all the materials within my reach, I shut my books, and as soon as I arrived in the Yellow Sea, I began a different course of study upon the same subject. Instead of reading any longer the accounts of others, I turned to the originals themselves, and lost no opportunity in my power of perusing and considering them.

The intercourse of the Chinese with foreigners is however so regulated and restrained, and the difficulty of obtaining correct information so great, that the foregoing papers must not be received without reserve, nor regarded otherwise than as

merely the result of my own researches and reflections : for I am sensible that, besides being defective in many points, they will be found to differ a good deal from the accounts of former travellers; but I am far from saying that the errors may not be in me, rather than in them. I may have seen neither so well nor so much as they did ; but whatever I did see or could learn from good authority, I have made it a point most faithfully to represent and report. The picture may seem harsh, cold, or ill-colored ; but the fancy of the painter has intruded nothing into the piece that did not appear to him in the original from which he drew. He meant neither to embellish nor disfigure, but solely to give as just a resemblance as he could.

THE END.

